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# SOUTHERN SIDELIGHTS

A PICTURE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
LIFE IN THE SOUTH
A GENERATION BEFORE THE WAR

EDWARD INGLE, A.B.

New York: 46 East Fourteenth Street
THOMAS Y. CROWELL & COMPANY
BOSTON: 100 PURCHASE STREET

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## INTRODUCTION.

To outline a picture of social and economic life in the South during the generation before the war is the purpose of this work.

It is not a history in the broad sense, but deals with material that is often neglected in the philosophy based upon human records. Details of politics are always of interest, because of the personality of leaders and their undue importance in the public eye. Behind politics, though, influencing and being influenced, are the real conditions of a people,—their habits of thought, their modes of action, and their industrial, agricultural, educational, and commercial status. These may be truly estimated only by marshalling the figures in the light of contemporaneous conditions, moral, intellectual, and physical. Such a task has been attempted in this volume.

Though pertaining primarily to the South at a definite time, the narrative would not be complete without reference to earlier days, and to the country in general. In colonial years were laid the foundations of the later civilization, and no part of a republic may be adequately studied without regard for the whole.

The sources of information have been, with few exceptions, writings published before 1861, those of subsequent date having been consulted only for facts, or because they embody documents not otherwise easily

accessible. The reports of the census, with their analyses by James D. B. DeBow, George Tucker, and Thomas P. Kettell, the American, Whig, and Tribune Almanacs, and the Bankers' Magazine, have supplied the statistical information upon which the tables of the appendices have been constructed. No census has ever been perfect. The changes in schedules, or in the range of investigation from decade to decade, and the failure in some instances to secure full returns, tend to confuse one seeking material for a comparative review. But pains have been taken to insure accuracy, and to explain apparent discrepancies in figures.

Illustrative facts and statements have been derived mainly from the Southern Literary Messenger of Richmond, founded in 1834, and regularly issued for thirty years, and from De Bow's Commercial Review, published at New Orleans from 1846 until the beginning of the war. The latter, with the volumes compiled from it, such as "The Industrial Resources of the South," is not only the chief statistical authority of the ante-bellum South, but is also a repository of most valuable material bearing upon the real situation in that section. During much of its career national politics was rather subordinated in it to questions of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. It included the thoughts of planters and merchants as well as those of men in public office. Its contributors lived in Delaware and in Texas, in Missouri and in Florida. Other magazines, newspapers, govern ment reports, and current publications of many kinds were liberally quoted, and the original contributions embraced a wast catalogue of subjects. The Messenger was principally with literary movements, but economics and history occupied no inferior place within its covers. Adams's "Southside View of Slavery," Hundley's "Social Relations in our Southern States," and the pioneer work of W. P. Trent, Basil Sollers, B. C. Steiner, L. S. Merriam, Willis G. Clark, Colyer Meriwether, Charles L. Smith, Charles E. Jones, L. P. Powell, G. G. Bush, and F. W. Blackmar, edited by Dr. H. B. Adams, for the national Bureau of Education, and the early reports of the Commissioner of Patents before the organization of the Interior Department, have also been valuable aids.

One difficulty has been the confusion in some material resulting from its rhetorical tinge, and the accompanying indefinite terminology. Rhetoric may be valuable for the exposition of great ideas, and for the display of the gift of language; but it too often offers a temptation to clothe isolated facts in the garb of far-reaching generalities, and hence is likely to mislead. This tendency, often unconscious, was frequently manifested in the use of the words South and Southern. Some writers and speakers were prone to omit the northern border States from their consciousness when they alluded to the South; some, of limited observation, and consequently of an a priori mind, regarded their own State or locality, their Virginia or South Carolina, as their South; some, in commenting upon Southern civilization, referred merely to the limited class that was responsible for that civilization in its highest development, and others endeavored to create an impression that there were but two classes, - the whites and the negroes. Hence it is necessary in reading much of the literature of that day to consider not only the statements contained in it, but also the point of view of the author, and the circumstances of its publication.

In this volume the word South is applied to the territory occupied by the fifteen States, including the District of Columbia, in which slavery was maintained as a distinct institution; and, for brevity, the word North to the rest of the country. By Southerners, are meant the white people of the South, without regard to classes.

If it had been possible to do so, the subjects of slavery and the influences leading to the crisis of 1860 would have been disregarded. But they are so interwoven with other circumstances that some reference to them was necessary. They have, however, been treated as secondary topics rather than as leading ones.

Between the South of to-day and that of the era which closed in 1860 is a veil that this generation will hardly be able to remove. Four years of suffering and privation, of anguish and bereavement, for those who met the brunt of the war have naturally placed them in a position to resent any statement that seems to conflict with the theories resulting in the movements of 1861-1865. Among some there is a disposition to have their historian assume the rôle of an advocate; some are unaware of the facts that may be gleaned from the writings of Southern men more or less prominent before the catastrophe; and others, not without justification, are not disposed to permit the veil to be lifted by any one whose antecedents are not thought to be a guaranty of a treatment of the subject in accord with tradition.

Though a somewhat different spirit prevailed fifty years ago, a similar sensitiveness was occasionally displayed. Thus in meeting a criticism of Hugh S. Legaré, the statement was made that his little faults ought to be kept out of sight when one was regarding the eminence of his character. But the little things—the little faults, perhaps—are just what the student of history requires to help him in forming his judgment of the whole field. They are frequently the more important, because through their neglect they are capable of developing sufficiently to control the greater ones. And nothing will lead to an understanding of Southern civilization more directly than a study of those influences and factors that were not picturesque or ornamental.

In the belief that only in a faithful, truthful record of all its manifestations will the past of the South be appreciated by the coming race this contribution to its history is made.

It is Southern in being based upon the writings of Southerners, or of those persons whose utterances were favorably received in the South, and the frequent quotations have been introduced as the best means of allowing the story to be told by itself. But the author has endeavored to keep before him the principle that the natural sentiments and predilections arising from Southern birth, education, and associations should not permit him to omit one item that may serve to enlighten his subject.

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## SOUTHERN SIDELIGHTS.

#### CHAPTER I.

#### TRAITS OF THE PEOPLE.

To appreciate the situation of the South before the war, one must know something of its population. A few individuals who enjoyed opportunities to become acquainted with the features of the unique civilization around them have since made a record of their impressions. Their work is valuable to the historian. But to obtain an adequate conception of the subject the voices of representatives of more than one class must be heard.

The lives of the "poor whites" of the barrens, and of the hardy mountaineers of Virginia and Kentucky, must be read, as well as those of the aristocrats of Charleston and the lower James; of the field-hand of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, as well as of the household slave of Virginia.

It is now practically impossible for this to be done thoroughly, but the acts and words of Southern men of the earlier time may throw light upon the shifting of peoples and the modifications of life that are revealed in statistics.

That life was a conservative one, though sharing in the progress made in the whole country. It was marked by many well-conceived efforts to gain for the South its due proportion of those things that count for best in American society, while rejecting other elements of evil. Barriers were in the way,—the growth of two hundred years,—and man and nature seemed to be leagued to maintain them; but the existence of such difficulties made more notable the successes that were achieved.

In no particular were the fortunes of the South better illustrated than in its territorial history. When the first Congress met, the area of the United States was about 844,414 square miles, of which the South embraced 405,365 miles. Between 1789 and 1860, 2.181,186 square miles were acquired by purchase or by annexation, at a primary cost of \$55,000,000. That includes \$10,000,000 paid to Texas for 96,707 miles, and does not include the \$6,200,000 paid to Georgia in connection with its cession of lands, or the expenses of the war inevitable upon the annexation of Texas. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 for \$15,000,000, of Florida in 1819 for \$5,000,000, the acquisition of Texas in 1845, the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, involving an expenditure of \$15,000,000, the bargain with Texas in 1850, and the Gadsden purchase of 1854, were either made when a Southern man was at the head of the administration, or were prompted by Southern influences.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An estimate made to 1849 of the expenditures caused by these acquisitions was as follows: To France for Louisiana, \$15,000,000, interest, \$8,529,353; to Spain for Florida, \$5,000,000, Interest, \$1,489,763; to Georgia, \$1,250,000, interest, \$1,832,000; for Yazoo claims, \$4,282,757; to Mexico, \$15,000,000; cost of the Mexican war, \$217,175,577; total, \$269,559,450. When to

Yet in the political deals arranged at Washington, the South secured but 496,445 square miles of the additions. Florida and Texas went to that section, but little more than one-sixth of the 1,182,752 square miles of the Louisiana purchase was obtained by it. Though in time Arizona and New Mexico might have been added to the Southern States, the rest of the 664,800 miles acquired in consequence of the Mexican War was closed by nature or by legislation against the South as a distinctive section.

What the South was to be territorially had been determined in 1836. Arkansas, just admitted to the Union, was the last Southern State to be erected in the region bought from France. Texas had been recognized as an independent republic, and, with Florida, was to enter the Union nine years later as an addition to slavery. Their admission made no material change in the character of Southern civilization, but helped to swell the number of its population. Between 1790 and 1840 the total population of the section increased from 1,966,372 to 7,334,431; and between 1840 and 1860 to 12,315,374, of whom 8,099,760 were whites, 261,918 free negroes, and 3,953,696 were slaves. The percentage of increase from 1830 to 1840 was 25.74; from 1840 to

these are added the cost of the removal of the Indians to lands beyond the Mississippi, the payment to Texas, and the Gadsden purchase, the aggregate would represent about \$300,000,000. In this connection it may be interesting to note that of \$72,269,749, the total receipts from 1833 to 1840 from land sales, \$6,880,880, came from Missouri, \$7,251,460 from Alabama, \$10,068,973 from Mississippi, \$3,240,369 from Louisiana, \$3,110,377 from Arkansas, and \$516,408 from Florida, a total from the South of \$31,068,467.

1850, during which time Texas was added, 31.77; and from 1850 to 1860 it was 27.42. In the same periods the increase in the rest of the country was 38.31, 38.84, and 41.40 per cent respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The movement of the centre of population in the country was, in a certain sense, a gauge of the changes in the South. Always tending westward, close to the 39th parallel of longitude, it moved forty-one miles, with a slight southern angle, between 1790 and 1800, as pioneers occupied the Northwest Territory and that acquired from Carolina and Georgia. The acquisition of Louisiana gave an additional westward and southward trend between 1800 and 1820; and the purchase of Florida brought the centre in 1830 to its farthest southern point. During the next decade it moved northward; but by 1850, through the Texan influence, it was 38° 59' south, and 81° 19' west. Between 1850 and 1860 the northern power again predominated, and the centre travelled eighty-one miles westward.

The one hundred and twenty-seven miles of westward movement up to 1820 was made chiefly by native Americans; but the change of two hundred and thirty miles in the next forty years was due largely to the foreign element that was attracted to this country, and to the opening of California to the East.

After 1845 there was no appreciable increase, except by birth, of one element of the Southern population,—the slaves; and the same thing is true of the whites to some extent. The tide of immigration to this country that swelled in number between 1820 and 1834 from 8,385 a year to 65,305, fell to 38,914 in 1838, and

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 1,

reached 427,833 in 1854. From that time it gradually subsided to 153,640 in 1860. With the exception of Texas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Maryland, the Southern States attracted but few of the new arrivals. Of the immigrants of 1820, New York received 3,834; Philadelphia, 2.050; Baltimore, 1,262; New Orleans, 911; Boston, 861; Charleston, 385; and Norfolk, 164. The differences between Northern and Southern cities were greater in 1860, when 131,565 landed in New York, 13,080 in New Orleans, 12,825 in Boston, 5,817 in San Francisco, 6,932 in Baltimore, 3,898 in Philadelphia, 1,265 in Galveston, and 508 in Charleston. Of the 185,186 persons landed at Castle Garden in 1856, only 6.758 were en route to the South, 1.535 of them having Maryland, and 2,366 having Missouri, as their destination.

Between 1820 and 1830 more than 150,000 alien passengers arrived in the United States, about 98 per cent of whom, it was estimated, were intending settlers. The census of 1830 showed 10,326 aliens in the South, and 97,506 in the North. In 1850 the South had a little more than 14 per cent of the whole foreign-born population, and in 1860 about 13 per cent. In the last year the foreign-born constituted 6 per cent of the white population of the South, and nearly 20 per cent of that in the North.<sup>1</sup>

Many influences led the greater number of immigrants to settle in the North. That section was in a latitude to which most of the foreigners had been accustomed; travel from Europe naturally followed the principal direct routes to America; and the immigrant

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 2.

had more abundant opportunities for employment in the diversity of occupations in the towns and cities of the North, where labor had not become a caste, and in the lands of the West more advantages for farm-life, than he understood could be had in the South. The result was that the population of the South, after the transportation of 17,000 Cherokees to regions west of the Mississippi, and the cessation of troubles with the Seminoles, was left to work out its own destiny, without any marked effects of increase of population from abroad.

That this was not entirely a blessing was realized when the redundant population of the East, and many of the better and more thrifty of the immigrants, had helped to build up new States in the West, while the places of Virginians, Georgians, and Carolinians, who sought the cheaper and more fertile lands of Alabama, Mississippi, and later of Arkansas and Texas, were not speedily filled, and when in some States the slaves increased more rapidly than the whites.

The small growth of white population in some of the older States showed the effects of this migration. In the whole South from 1830 to 1860 the percentage of increase was 121, and in the North it was 174. But in South Carolina it was only 13, less than the average increase by birth; in North Carolina 33; and in Virginia 31. Maryland's percentage was 77, the same as that of Kantucky, which with Tennessee had received a large population by immigration between 1790 and 1800. Ar-

<sup>1</sup> Iti 1850, of the States of the South, Louisiana had the forgost percentage, 26.34, of foreigners in its population; and Storifi Carolina had the smallest, .46.

kansas showed the largest gain in the South, 1,162 per cent; but its population was 25,671 in 1830, and 324,191 in 1860. Among the younger States, excepting Missouri, those having the smaller populations, such as Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, showed the greatest percentage of increase, and Texas nearly trebled its population in ten years.

But a single Southern State, Missouri, attained regularly a higher relative rank in total population in the country, and that advanced from twenty-third in 1810 to eighth in 1860. Delaware declined from sixteenth to thirty-second; Maryland, from sixth to nineteenth; Virginia, from first to fifth; North Carolina, from third to twelfth; and South Carolina, from seventh to eighteenth. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas had a higher rank, and Florida a lower one, in 1860 than when they were admitted to the Union; but all of these except Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi were lower in 1860 than in

Population was much more diffused in the South than in the North. In 1860 the area of the United States was 3,025,600 square miles. Of these, 1,205,959 were in the Territories, which had a population of 220,195, including Indians, or less than one person for five square miles. In the remaining area, 1,819,641 square miles, there were 31,223,126 inhabitants, or 17.15 to the mile. The Northern States had an average of 20.59 persons to the mile, and the South 13.65. Since 1790 Virginia had added 13.83 persons to its population for each square mile; South Carolina, 14.87; Massachusetts,

1840.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 3.

109.28; and New York, 76.97. In the last decade the increase of density of population in the North had exceeded that in the South, Massachusetts gaining 30.33 persons to the square mile; New York, 17.03; Pennsylvania, 12.93; Illinois, 15.54; Indiana, 10.72; and Ohio, 8.99. The smallest increase in the country was .11 in Vermont, and New Hampshire's .88 was but a trifle more than Florida's, the lowest in the South. The greatest increase in that section, Delaware's, excluding, of course, the population of the District of Columbia, that was confined principally to two cities, was 20.23 to the square mile less than the greatest in the North.

Only six Southern States had a density of population above the average in the Northern States, and Delaware and Maryland alone exceeded the New England average; but they were below that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, where pioneer conditions still prevailed more generally, perhaps, than elsewhere in the South, contributed much to the low Southern average, while the States of the same age in the Northwest had a more compact population.

The rise of large cities had a great deal to do with enhancing the general average of density in the North. The population of Baltimore, the largest Southern city, was in 1860 but 9,829 more than that of New York in 1830. The number of the first had increased in thirty years from 80,625 to 212,418; of the second, from 202,589 to 805,651. St. Louis had grown from a town of 5,852 persons to one of 160,773, and Chicago from one of 4,170 in 1837 to one of 109,260. Richmond, Savan-

nah, Mobile, Nashville, and Louisville were of more tardy growth, while the population of Charleston was almost stationary between 1850 and 1860. New Orleans resembled New York in the proportion of foreigners in its population, and St. Louis was like Chicago in that particular. Baltimore and Louisville had many citizens of foreign birth. A feature of urban conditions in the North was the number of towns and villages clustered around the cities; and Eastern men in their migrations transplanted the machinery for close settlement and neighborhood intercourse.

Such was not the case in the South, though its population was affected by the migration of the planters, and later of the professional and mercantile classes. The tendency to move from place to place was relatively as strong in the South as in the North, but it added to the preponderance of Northern population. Some of the resemblances between the sections in this respect were illustrated in the movements of the free native populations of the two commonwealths, Virginia and Massachusetts.1 Of the 1,260,982 Virginian-born living in 1850 in the United States, 872,923, or 68 per cent, were in Virginia. Of the 894,818 natives of Massachusetts, 695,236, or 77 per cent, lived at home. Virginia's population included 53,231 born outside the State, 1,193 being from Massachusetts; and the latter had 134,830 persons in its population born elsewhere, 796 being from Virginia. At that time men of Massachusetts were living nearer than formerly to their birthplaces, 31 per cent of the absentees living in New York and Pennsylvania. But while 24 per cent of the 388,059 exiled

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 4 ..

Virginians were in Ohio and Pennsylvania, 40,777 of them were neighbors of 1,103 Massachusetts men in Missouri. In another ten years the exchange between Virginia and Massachusetts was about equal; but the number of colonists from the former had had a less increase than that from the latter. New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland had more Virginians, and New York and Maryland fewer natives of Massachusetts, than in 1850; and there was a decrease in both classes in Ohio, and an increase in both in Missouri.

The South had, in 1850, five times as many of its citizens in the Western free States as in the East, and the East three times as many in the West as in the South. Of native settlers in the West, 37 per cent were from the South, and there were nearly five times as many Eastern men in the South as Southern men in the East; but 80 per cent more natives of the South were living in 1860 in the free States than there were natives of the North in the South. The balance of migration was against Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee, natives of those States having settled in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The general trend of travel had been westward, and the free States had received 374,325 more citizens from the South than they had sent in that direction. Ten years before they had 405,969 persons similarly to their credit, the decrease in the decade being due to the greater number of Northerners moving into the border States.1

• The negro element in this free population was in-<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 5. considerable, especially in connection with migration. That was usually northern after 1830; but its proportions were not large enough to affect the general total.

On the other hand, slaves travelled southward, as they were sold or as they accompanied their owners to new fields. A decrease in their number of 30.76 per cent in Delaware between 1790 and 1800, an increase of but 2.52 per cent in Maryland, and of 17.84 per cent in Virginia, notwithstanding the subsiding of an antislavery feeling in those three States, and the accompanying increase of 32.53 per cent in North Carolina, of 36.46 per cent in South Carolina, of 102.99 per cent in Georgia, of 241.02 per cent in Kentucky, and of 297.54 per cent in Tennessee in the same decade; were typical of the movements of slavery during the next sixty years. Slavery steadily declined in Delaware, there being in 1860 but 1,798 slaves in the State that had owned 8,887 in 1790. In Maryland the number was reduced from 102,994 in 1830 to 89,737 in 1840; there was an increase of 631 by 1850, but a fall to 87,189 by 1860. Virginia's total in 1840 was 20,660 less than it was in 1830, and North Carolina gained only 216 in the same period. In all the seaboard States except Georgia, the increase between 1830 and 1860 was below the birth-rate. Alabama's average was slightly above it, and Kentucky's below it, as was also Tennessee's between 1850 and 1860. Mississippi had by 1840 reached the South Carolina condition of having more slaves than whites in its population; and in all the States east of the Mississippi, that had at one time had an abnormal increase, and in Louisiana, the tendency was toward the average birth-rate.

Silent as slavery was in the legislation formulated expressly for it, irresponsible for its extension into the vounger States and its maintenance in the older ones, it was none the less a powerful factor in determining the character of the white civilization before the Revolution, and in its conservation for so many years thereafter. Upon it was based the social and political influence wielded by one class of whites not only over the South, but also, to a limited extent, over the whole country. It was quite a favorite, though misleading, generalization, to assume that that class was the South. "Indeed," wrote Judge Upshur in 1839, "there is but one class in our slaveholding States. Merchants, mechanics, manufacturers, and all the various modes of industry, are found in all of them; but their numbers are comparatively small, and their influence as classes is scarcely felt. Besides these are all slaveholders also." . It would be more definite to say that the South was dominated by a class composed of slaveholding or slavehiring families who were first in the social scale.

Owners of slaves numbered 384,753 in 1860, representing, according to a liberal estimate, 2,308,518 per-

<sup>1</sup> In the North no slaves were held in 1800 in Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont. By 1830 there were but 3,568 in that section, the larger holdings being 2,254 in New Jersey and 403 in Pennsylvania, the 2 in Maine, 1 in Massachusetts, and 6 in Ohio being probably the property of temporary residents. But 64 remained in 1860, of whom 29 were in Utah, 2 in Kansas, and 18 in New Jersey, the last being under the designation of apprentices for life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, vol. v., p. 685.

sons.1 Slaves were hired to slaveowners as well as to non-owners; but it would be impossible to determine the exact number of the latter.2 There were landowners who were not slaveholders, and slaveholders who owned no land; but, as in Virginia, the eastern portion had. until 1851, the greater power in the Assembly, and the western the majority of white population; so in the whole South the landholding and slaveholding class were in control of affairs. Taking English society as a type, they ranked in the main as a great middle class, the foundation and walls of conservatism and safety in any land. They included an aristocracy or gentry reflecting the distinctions of colonial government, and expanding under influences that prevented an amalgamation of widely separated elements, slavery superseding "the necessity of an order of nobility and all other appendages of a hereditary system of government," as Governor McDuffie of South Carolina expressed it in 1835.

Aristocracy did not always mean wealth or leadership, nor did wealth place one at the top in society. The aristocracy had its foibles, inseparable from any class; but abiding chiefly in the country, it was free from many of the vices peculiar to the leisure class of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix F, Table 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The number of owners and hirers in 1850 was 347,525. In the total were not included those persons who were conjointly interested in the ownership of slaves, and it was thought that they would equal in numbers the hirers. In one Southern town selected as an experiment, of 250 slaveholders, 66 of whom were natives of free States and 49 foreigners, 32 were accountants, barbers, bakers, blacksmiths, builders, butchers, carpenters, draymen, grocers, printers, plasterers, saddlers, tailors, or tinners.

a city. The gentry of the South, outside their own homes, were seen at their best when Carolina planters resorted to Charleston in the sickly season; when Lexington, Ky., was the refuge of dwellers in the lower Mississippi valley from disease and torrid heat; when the small theatre of a city was crowded by the advent of a literary, musical, or dramatic star; and when at the White Sulphur Springs, Va., Madison Springs, Ga., the Warm Springs, N.C., Harrodsburg, Ky., Biloxi, and Pass Christian, on the Gulf, and other resorts, they presented charms of manner and gifts of mind that won the admiration of acquaintances from other parts of the country. They were the exponents, sometimes to an exaggerated degree, of the virtues and the faults of the gradations of the ruling class.

These were defined, though not sharply, by occupations.1 Of 5,371,876 free males more than fifteen years old counted in 1850, the South had 1.553,183, -29 per In law, divinity, and medicine it had 35 per cent of the number in the whole country; in other pursuits requiring an education, 44 per cent; in the civil service, 41 per cent; in commerce, manufactures, trades, and mining, 20 per cent; in navigation, 21 per cent; in agriculture, 35 per cent; and in labor not agricultural, The ruling class supplied the mass of 24 per cent. professional men, planters, merchants, officeholders, and manufacturers. Many free negroes were in the industrial and navigating categories, and were found also among those engaged in labor not agricultural. culturists included not only the planters, but also the small farmers, constituting the bulk of a second class,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 6.

that have been called the "yeomanry," and some of the last grade the "poor whites."

Comparatively few of the veomanry owned slaves, and their life was not unlike that of the early pioneers who opened the wilderness of Kentucky and Tennessee to civilization. They owned or rented their land; they furnished the native supply of skilled white mechanics and tradesmen, and as small merchandizers were in rivalry with men who drifted into the South from the North. Some of their number of unusual ability were encouraged to take a position in the professional ranks, and some gained political honors; but generally it was more difficult for them to be merged with the extreme element of the upper class than with the "poor whites." Many of them were highly respected for their industry; but others were indolent, and hampered by the feeling common to many whites, that personal service placed them in some manner upon a par with slaves. Rev. E. F. Stanton told the members of the Literary Institute of Hampden-Sidney College in 1837, that Virginia needed an increase of useful and respectable laborers, mechanics, and farmers. "The low state of mechanic arts and agriculture among us," he said, "or rather the prevailing vice of indolence, is the true source of the present disasters which are so often made the theme of popular declamation by stump orators and upstart politicians." Another writer accused the mechanics of being so "idle and worthless" that they had allowed the shrewd, hard-working "Yankees to bear off the palm on all occasions." And he added, "It is the great fault of the Southern people that they are too proud to work, and very often they perform the work

that they do in such a manner as to show that they are half ashamed of it."

This shame or pride was explained by W. H. Trescott of South Carolina. He stated that it was rare in his State for white and black labor to trench upon each other, and said, "The character of our labor, therefore, draws a broad line between the class who merely labor and the white population of the State who are thus created a governing, privileged class." And President A. B. Longstreet of Emory College, Ga., in antagonizing the notion that it was disgraceful to labor, characterized it as an exotic imported from the land where rank came by chance, dignity by blood, and fortune by law. "It may be harmless in its indigenous soil," he said, "but here it is the Upas; and by as much as we propagate it, by so much do we spread moral and political death through the land."

Intolerance of manual labor, not necessarily because it was regarded as menial, but by reason of a constitutional lassitude handed down from generation to generation, was most strongly manifested in the unfortunate class known as "poor whites." All whites who were poor were not "poor whites," but many embraced in that term of contempt and pity were poor in this world's goods and in the ambition to contend against what seemed to be the inevitable. The "whiskey-drinking, potato-raising, charcoal-burning sandhillers," they were called by a progressive workingman of Charleston, who thought them intelligent enough to hammer granite.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, ii. 251; vi. 652; De Bow's Review, xx. 148; xxix. 73.

John Forsyth of Mobile hit off some of their traits in contrasting an unadulterated "Cracker" and an unadulterated Yankee, born and bred in the country. "One is slow," he said, "and the other quick; one takes a minute to rise from his seat, the other never sits at all except in pursuance of a calculation; one is not without faculties, but they seem to be all asleep, the other with all his wits alive with sagacity, curiosity, invention. The one content to doze away life with as little labor as possible and all the enjoyment compassable; his log hut, wool hat, homespun suit, and cornbread and bacon the limits of his desires for domicile, vesture, and food; loving his gun and his horse, addicted to tobacco and strong drink, quick to anger, a dangerous enemy, and a fast friend. The other instinct with life, activity, intelligence, never satisfied with the present wellbeing while anything better is beyond to tempt his longings and his wits."1

It would be invidious and incorrect to classify the yeomanry of the South, as well as the countryman of New England, as "poor whites," as Forsyth's view might lead one to do. But below both of them were the neglected people who, in the South, were but little removed from the status of the settled Indian, and in the North were sheltered sometimes in the almshouse or the jail. Below the Potomac the pride of the "poor whites," added to certain habits in family relations that may have been absorbed unconsciously by their ancestors from the red men, kept them from the almshouse. The gifts of nature, scant as they were often, tempered into resignation a desperation that might have reduced

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xvii. 363.

them to the state of some of their putative colonial sires and dames sent from their native land for their country's good.

They were the degenerates, the children of ancient poverty and wrong, with little or no opportunity to better their condition among surroundings of a corrective character; and their scattered settlements prevented their children from enjoying the privileges of education and orthodox religion. Had they not been too lazy to wander far from their apologies for home, they would have become American gypsies; for family ties were too strong, and they were possessed of too much of a kind of independence to become vagrants. Nor did they care to be compelled to work without pay for another. The victims of heredity and of institutions in which they had no interest, placed under laws made for them rather than by them, they were happily removed from the pressure of population that would have undoubtedly reduced them to the criminal or the dependent class.

But among the population of the waste lands, scratching the earth half-heartedly for a bare subsistence, eking out a living by hunting, or by raising stock, among the "surplus labor" of North Carolina, and the 50,000 of the 300,000 whites of South Carolina, according to Governor Hammond's estimate, languishing for employment because they were unable to compete with slave-labor in agricultural pursuits, were many anxious to gain an honest livelihood by toil. Some of the females in the neighborhood of Charleston, willing to slave as seamstresses, may have deemed it beneath them to work in factories; but both Northern men, who showed their

faith in the South and their good-will toward it by investing there, and Southern men, gave testimony to the promptness with which the "poor whites" availed themselves of chances to work. General Charles T. James of Rhode Island, an investor in cotton enterprises in the South, and a close observer of conditions there, wrote in 1850 that, "The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and if she were she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service as a degree of degradation to which she could not condescend; and she has, therefore, no resource but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness." 1 With the increase of factories, however, he saw these "poor whites" make application for places in number beyond the demands for them.

Because of antipathy to innovations, fear existed in some quarters that evil would result from the gathering of the poor into factories. But this was combated in the statement that danger to existing institutions was threatened in the great upheaving of the masses; that as long as the poor could see no means of making a living except by working with negroes upon a plantation, they were content to be idle in the satisfaction of feeling that they were at least above the slave, even though often faring worse; that in the factory and its surroundings they saw the means of escape from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence; and that crowding them from the factories, and sup-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, viii. 558.

planting them with slaves, would place them in hostility to the established order. On the contrary, by being enabled to rise in life, and to own a slave, they would increase the demand for that kind of property, and would become firm and uncompromising supporters of Southern institutions. Such was the argument of J. H. Taylor of Charleston; and although confidence was expressed that the "poor whites" were to be little feared. as they were comparatively few in number, and as they could not depend for help upon slaves whose native overseers they were, still Taylor's suggestion was in line with the wish to encourage non-slaveholders to engage in occupations that would make them moral and physical bulwarks of the South. For it was felt that ignorance, poverty, and irreligion were menaces to any community, and that unanimity of sentiment was necessary to society. It was, however, not a small task to change suddenly the thought that had ruled for a century or more, and to interest the dominant element in the elevation of the "poor whites," and even to make the latter enthusiastic for a change.

¹ The patrol system, designed to regulate the conduct of slaves, was to some extent a unifying medium among whites of all grades. In some sections it was voluntarily organized to make the rounds of plantations among the slaveholders, but often it was composed mainly of non-slaveholders, small farmers, merchants, professional men, mechanics, overseers, and others. In South Carolina the law was far-reaching. All free white male inhabitants above eighteen years of age were liable to patrol duty, unless they were aliens, transients above the age of forty-five, or such as had not resided in the State for six months, and excepting persons above forty-five who did not own slaves, and alien enemies. Those who had means could hire a substitute or pay a fine of \$2, and an advance of ten per cent on the general tax of the year.

In spite of such a spirit as was shown in the first representative assembly in Virginia in 1619, and in the efforts of nearly two hundred years to resist long-range authority, the older portion of the South, not without influence upon the new States, was slow to adapt itself to the idea of a society founded upon an equality of rights for the masses, and the preparation of the masses to exercise those rights intelligently and judiciously.

Governmental institutions were transplanted to the South at a time when such an event as the beheading of Charles I. had not disturbed to any great extent the deeply rooted belief of the people in the inherent right of a particular class to rule them, or the determination of that class to preserve their privileges. The overthrow of one set of rulers in the Revolution, the decadence of the law of primogeniture and entail, and the disestablishment of religion, did not materially affect the theory of government that by the policy of England and the adaptability of the country to a revival of the patriarchal or feudal spirit had been fixed upon the South. But it was not confined at first to that section. The town-meeting of New England did not prevent the aristocracy of Federalism from controlling that section as completely as it prevailed in parts of the South. The spirit that set the words of "America" to the music of "God Save the Queen," was found in a section that begat the Hartford Convention. Men of English stock could not throw off English ideas as easily as they could rid themselves of English rule. They might not have a king; but more than a revolution in arms was needed to destroy their belief that a particular class, of which royalty was the extreme type, ought to rule. Accidents

of birth and fortune had, perhaps, enabled more members of one class than of another to govern in the South; but at times there was a presumption for the impression that the accidents were the principal qualifications.

In some of the sections of the North, there were limitations upon officeholding and the suffrage similar in intent to those of the South. Not until 1852 was the freehold qualification for governor and members of the legislature removed in New Hampshire, which still compelled members to be Protestants. New York in 1821, Massachusetts in the same year, New Jersey in 1844. and Connecticut in the next year, abolished the property qualification for voters, and Ohio in 1851 did away with the taxpaving qualification. Connecticut, that in 1845 had reiterated the limitation of the suffrage to white males, added ten years later the ability to read; and Massachusetts imposed in 1857 the qualification of ability to read and write, and in 1859 that of two years' residence in the United States. The theory of white manhood as the qualification for suffrage and officeholding was, nevertheless, more rapidly developed in the North than in the South.

In the six original States of the latter section several curious features appeared in the earlier constitutions, such as compulsory voting in Georgia, and the evolution of a State government from conventions. These, however, soon were modified; but it was not so with the suffrage and the right to hold an elective office. Delaware was the first, in 1792, to elect its governor by the people. The example was followed by Georgia in 1824, by North Carolina in 1835, by Maryland in 1837, and by Virginia in 1851; while to the legislature of South Caro-

lina was left the duty of choosing not only the governor and other State officers, but also the presidential electors. In that State, too, free-holding remained a qualification for governor and membership of the legislature, though removed from some voters in 1810. That qualification was abolished for all in Maryland in 1810, and in Virginia in 1851; for members of the legislature in Georgia in 1835, and for governor in 1847; and for all voters in North Carolina after 1854, though in that State tax-paying remained a test.

All the new States were admitted with constitutions providing for the election of the governor by the qualified voters, and in Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, with no limitation upon white-manhood suffrage. Florida called for enrolment of its voters in the militia. Mississippi, which had at first a property qualification for governor and for members of the legislature, and which compelled electors to be taxpayers, or to be in the militia, removed all such restrictions in 1832. Members of Missouri's legislature had to be taxpayers; and Tennessee removed the property qualification in 1834, and, excluding free negroes from voting, relieved them from the poll-tax and from militia duty.

The taxpaying requisite that was maintained in a few of the States, after the disappearance of freehold suffrage, was but a slight incubus upon the poorer class of voters; but the constitutional provisions for democracy at the polls did not always prevent the landed and slaveholding class from obtaining practical control of affairs, nor did they check the growth of ideas opposed to the fundamental principle of pure democracy, — rule of the majority.

Leading men at different periods noted the prevalence of these ideas. R. I. Manning of South Carolina believed that the doctrine that the majority should govern. "with all the evils that appertain to it," was better and safer, estecially in an age of light and knowledge, as a fundamental principle of government, than that the minority should govern the majority; but W. H. Trescott, of the same State, contended a few years later that States in a slaveholding community could not afford to adopt a policy based upon the principles of free labor; while James C. Bruce of Virginia said, after the last extension of suffrage in that State, "Liberty does not dwell in the ballot-box. The erection of a ballot-box is a mere claim on the part of the majority that it has more wisdom and virtue than the minority, or than any individual in that minority."

Daniel Elliott Huger's satirical remark, that there were always kind, generous, chivalrous men enough to carry on the government, and take good care of the people, without the smallest disposition to ask for advice, or to explain their conduct, was matched by the earnest statement of Judge Upshur. Alluding to the impatience of slaveholders at the labor of study, he said that he did not refer to the more extended and perfect education that fitted men for public station and the higher duties of citizenship. But he added, "Only a few such men arise in any age, and only a few are necessary for the wise ordering of public affairs, and for the safety and prosperity of nations."

As the minority position of the South became more pronounced, the denial of the prerogatives of the majority became more vigorous. Thus R. R. Gibson of

Louisiana claimed that Southern society rejected the doctrine of equality of men as erroneous; and he held that "political and civil liberty are prizes rarely won and possessed even by the most enlightened races; and that so far from being the birthright of all mankind, they are the privileges to be enjoyed only by those who have the will and capacity to acquire and maintain them." A doctrine gaining ground at one time, according to De Bow, who had excellent opportunities to view the whole field, was set forth as follows by a Mississippian: "An unmixed democracy is capricious and unstable, and, unless arrested by the hand of despotism, leads to anarchy, and will end in agrarianism. As much of the aristocracy of England as would have been retained in America would have leavened the mass and purified the whole. Too much liberty and equality beget a dissolute licentiousness, and a contempt for law and order. Why do we see to-day Virginia and South Carolina in the lead of Southern rights and Southern liberties and Southern honor? The chivalrous sons of the old Palmetto and the proud old families of Virginia are yet true to their ancient sentiments, and with constant pride they guard their unstained escutcheons. Yes! in these aristocratic States the banner of resistance to tyranny has ever been first unfurled and most devotedly sustained; and mournful will the time be for the South when the taunted chivalry of the one, or the ridiculed 'first families' of the other, shall no longer control their destinies."1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Caper's "Life and Times of Memminger," 65. 85; De Bow's Review, xx. 148; xxii. 191; xxviii. 491; xxix. 33; Southern Literary Messenger, v. 681; xix. 302. One writer, who considered

The willingness of some to go to the other extreme in endeavoring to escape the danger of unmixed political democracy did not imply a denial of simplicity of life among the Southern people. A chief justice of the United States doing his own marketing, or engaged with the governor of a State in a game of quoits; the president of the Virginia Court of Appeals, a French teacher, a South Carolinian, and a Northern man spending the night together with the driver of their coach, upon bedding hospitably spread on the floor of a yeoman's cabin; the free intercourse on the court-house lawn of the richest planter and the honest poor man; the welcome given to the traveller in the rural districts,—were examples of a sentiment that erected no false barriers among fellow-men.

Distinctions were made, though, particularly in the towns, where there was more change in the character of the population; and in the country the very poor and the rich felt that there was a wide gap between them. But distinctions have always existed in civilized society, and civil and political equality has never been able to produce social equality.

Centralizing tendencies in the Southern States, nourished by the institutions, or produced in spite of them, were strong enough to hamper local energies, and too weak to substitute for them the power of concentrated authority. A South Carolinian wrote of his State words that may be applied in modified form to the

that the North was practically in the power of a handful of manufacturers, asked, "Why should not 347,000 slaveholders, representing so much of the energy, intelligence, and property of the South, control it?" South generally: "We have no organization inferior to the election district or parish," he said; "and in none of our districts, either electoral or judicial, is there any assemblage of citizens known to the law except in the towns or boroughs existing under special corporations. Our country has hardly a trace of governmental organization. A few magistrates are to be found: but in our parishes they are not always easily found. A board of commissioners meets once a quarter to provide for the wants of the poor of the district; a board of commissioners meets once a quarter to receive the reports of the schoolmasters and issue warrants for their salaries. The commissioners of roads meet twice a year around the festive board. The captain of the beat company is, ex-officio, the head of the police in his command. A stranger may live among us for years, and see no traces of a government. . . . In no case, except in the election of members of the legislature, is any provision made for the lawful expression of the sentiments of the district or parish as such. You may call a meeting of the citizens for the purpose, but it has no authority. It is but a voluntary assemblage of gentlemen. As organized members of a republic, our districts and parishes have absolutely no political existence."1

This looseness in fact of a system strong in theory was characteristic of a dispersed population; and as in the State local self-government was well nigh impossible, so in other respects the people could not enjoy the privileges of close community. Small landowners in the highlands could not always sympathize with men

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 127.

of princely domain in the low country; and misapprehensions were magnified by separation. Concert of action among men living five or ten miles apart could be had only upon a most urgent emergency. Diffusion of population, accentuated by bad roads in the leisure season, was revealed in the scantiness of common-school facilities; in the division of capital among several small factories or mills, instead of its concentration in a few; in literary, religious, and social life. In 1860, for instance, the South had proportionately more church buildings than the North; but its 22,655 buildings had an average seating-capacity of 307, and an average value of \$1,777, while the 31,344 of the North would accommodate 388 persons each, and were worth \$4,183 on an average.

Cities of the North helped to swell the values and the size of churches; but hardly enough to account for the wide difference in numbers, especially as thousands of the inhabitants of the South received religious instruction outside the churches.

Isolation gave birth to an individualism, as marked upon the mountain-clearing as upon the plantation; and beginnings of the co-operative spirit were dwarfed by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sparseness of population, though, was not entirely responsible for Georgia's need of 3,092 commissioned officers for 54,220 non-commissioned officers and privates in the militia, while Maine had 183 officers for 65,850 men in 1852; or Virginia's 6,494 officers for 118,634 men, while Massachusetts had 549 for 119,141. That Arkansas had one officer for 13 privates and non-commissioned men, and Rhode Island one for 184, was typical of the difference between New England utilitarianism and Southern proneness to the spectacular; though New York's 33 men to one officer were not unlike Virginia's 18 to one.

nature and by human inclination, and were believed by some persons to be fraught with evil. The unity of the members of the legal profession has in most ages been marked; yet the early movements for the organization of bar associations were characterized by one author as wrong in principle and injurious to the profession and to the community. Another, said to be one of the ablest economists in the South, called such organizations a conspiracy, and said that he was opposed to professional and trades unions because he thought them to be detrimental to the younger and less experienced members.

He was arguing for freedom of action that belongs to an open-air population, and which had expression in the great interest in politics by individuals who felt but slightly the direct weight of government, and who were unable to unite in any extensive political action locally.

Calhoun's advocacy of the improvement of the Mississippi may have caused intense feeling in South Carolina among those who believed that he had struck his colors. The burning in effigy of W. R. Taber at Columbia, and a mob's visit to his home in protest against an address he had made on the subject of aristocracy, and the bitter personal extent to which political arguments were carried, might seem to indicate a disposition to stifle political independence and freedom of thought. But John Tyler's advice to the students of Randolph Macon College to stand by the Constitution, as "the party of to-day may not be the party of to-morrow," did not mean that party ties rested lightly upon Southern men, nor did the conduct of individuals here and there imply repression of free thought and action. Not until sla-

very, the warp of Southern institutions, had been brought to the front as a distinct political issue, was there a fixed purpose to suppress any manifestation deemed hostile to the slaveholding interest. Even then party ties were for years more powerful than sectional ones, and politicians continued to control their followings by appeals to tradition.

In the alignment of men under new party names or principles, subsequent to the administration of the younger Adams the South was as much divided as the rest of the country, and in national contests thereafter did not soon become sectional in its electoral and popular votes.1 Twenty-four men received votes for the presidency between 1836 and 1860. Of these, seven were residents of the South. Of a total of 2,048 electoral votes in that time, the South cast 328 for Southern candidates, and 519 for Northern ones; and the North cast 258 for Southerners, and 943 for Northerners. Of the 21,313,036 popular votes, 2,438,951 for Southerners, and 3,692,444 for Northerners, came from the South; and 3,091,411 for Southerners, and 12,090,230 for Northerners, from the North.2 But four Southern States, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas, were represented regularly in the Electoral College by Democrats during that period; and one of them, Texas, voted only four times. Delaware and Maryland voted for Whigs until 1852, and Tennessee and Kentucky until 1856.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, Table 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These figures are based upon almanac records of the time, and the candidates are classed in the section to which they were accredited at the election, four of those in the North being of Southern birth.

Florida's first vote was for Taylor, who in 1848 carried Louisiana, as Harrison had done in 1840. In 1856 Maryland cast the only electoral votes for Fillmore, and in 1860 came within 362 votes of being carried by Bell, for whom Virginia broke from the Democratic column, and who also carried Kentucky and Tennessee. North Carolina and Georgia voted for three Whigs and four Democrats, and South Carolina and Mississippi for one Whig. Narrow pluralities were frequently given. In Virginia, Van Buren had only 1,392 votes to spare in 1840, Cass 1,473 in 1848, and Bell 358 in 1860; in Alabama, Cass 881; in Louisiana, Polk 699 in 1844, and Pierce 1,382 in 1852; in Tennessee, Clay 113 in 1844, and Scott 1,880 in 1852; in Delaware, Pierce 25, and in Missouri, Douglas 429 over Bell.

A similar diversity occurred in the Congressional and State elections. In the Twenty-fifth, Twenty-eighth, Thirtieth, Thirty-second, and Thirty-third Congresses, the majority of the Whigs in the Senate were from the South, and ten States were represented partly or wholly by them in the Twenty-seventh. The majority of Democrats were from the South in the Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, and Thirty-sixth Congresses, in the last three, Southern Whigs giving place to Democrats, though a few of the former remained, and were sometimes designated as Americans. Northern Whigs and Democrats were, in the mean time, merging with Free-soilers to increase the Republican representation from fifteen to twenty-five.

In the House the majority of Whigs and Democrats were from the North until 1857, with the exception of the Thirty-first Congress, when Southern Democrats were more numerous than Northern ones. In the North the Kansas-Nebraska discussion made a rift in the Democracy, and the Southern Rights movement helped to convert Whigs into Democrats. The transition process was shown in the Thirty-second Congress, when there were Union Democrats from Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi; Union Whigs from Florida and Georgia; Southern Rights Democrats from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina; and one Southern Rights Whig from North Carolina.

National party issues were reflected in State campaigns. The Virginia House of Delegates changed its political complexion between 1837 and 1839. Whig State Rights party polled in Georgia in 1838, 33,123 votes, and the Union Van Buren party, 30,989. Mississippi elected a Democratic governor in 1849 by a majority of 9,263 votes in a total of 52,685.1 When the question of electing delegates to a proposed Southern convention looking to secession was mooted, Mississippi cast 28,402 Union votes, and 21,241 for Southern Rights; and in South Carolina the Co-operationists carried six districts with a vote of 25,098, in opposition to action by that State alone; and the Immediate Secessionists, dubbed "Fire-Eaters," cast 17,796 votes, and carried one district. In 1851 Virginia polled 67,-562 votes for the new constitution, and 9,933 against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The elections of 1842 placed 73 Whigs and 97 Democrats in the North Carolina legislature, 51 Whigs and 49 Democrats in Tennessee's, 84 Whigs and 54 Democrats in Kentucky's, 36 Whigs and 97 Democrats in Missouri's, and 42 Whigs and 35 Democrats in Louisiana's.

it. Sixty-five per cent of the adult white males of the South, and sixty-nine per cent of those of the North, voted in the election of 1860.

These facts show that personal liberty in politics was not generally limited even upon most exciting occasions. The main-criticism ought to be that the South suffered from too much campaigning. Politics preponderated in newspaper literature; it was a motive for admission to the bar; it was felt in college life, and the graduates of a South Carolina institution formed a species of guild in contests for legislative honors. Interest in it was strong with the humblest citizen as with the most prominent; the joint debates and the oratory at militia musters and at monthly court not only kept alive from year to year the excitement among those who welcomed any opportunity to mingle with their fellows, but supplemented the small circulation of the press and the inability of many voters to read. Illiteracy did not mean a lack of intelligence, or of capacity to decide between the positions of rival candidates as long as the personal equation was powerful; but it tended to limit the range of political vision, particularly when politicians were able to obscure party distinctions in the Southern movement. Nor was the custom in some sections of viva-voce voting an aid necessarily to independence of action. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Cullen Bryan in a trip to the South Atnessed an amusing exhibition of the wide ramifications of politics. At a corn-shucking in Carolina, Toby, a powerful negro, who had for quite a while leaned against the wall looking upon the frolic with a superior air, was called upon to harangue the mock soldiery. Demanding a bit of paper to hold in his hand, he,

Political excitement was too often a bane. When Thomas R. Dew glorified in the presence of his students the influence of William and Mary College upon Virginia, which had "hitherto been one great political nursery," another Virginian wrote, " Among the greatest evils that have ever afflicted the Commonwealth is the morbid desire of her sons for political distinction. It has been the bane of the Republic, destroying everything like useful enterprise and labor, and banishing from their homes thousands of our citizens to find preferment among the people of other States, or from the patronage of the Federal government." And a South Carolinian in the midst of the turmoil of 1852 said, "If all the money which is spent in political conventions and caucuses, stump-speeches and elections, controversies and office-hunting, which demoralize the Southern mind, and is preparing it for everlasting subjugation, was devoted to improvement at home, the encouragement of Southern art and Southern industry. the division of labor, and the diversity of employment, we would be a more united people." 1

Protests were now and then entered against the professional politicians, as when it was announced that there was no room in Texas for them; and the lawyer, because of his connection with politics, came in for his share of condemnation. A critic of the convention that extended

according to Bryant, "spoke of 'de majority of Sous Carolina,"
'de interests of de State, 'de honor of ole Barnwell district; and
these phrases he connected with various expletives and sounds,
of which we could make nothing." [De Bow's Review, IX. 326.]

<sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, ii. 764; iii. 134; De Bow's Review, xiii. 19.

the suffrage in Virginia objected to the large proportion of lawyers in that body. Conceding that from the honorable membership of the bar had come some of the best men and the wisest statesmen of the country, he nevertheless asserted that whenever affairs of state were committed to them in large numbers, they had rarely failed to make mischief; and he laid down as axiomatic the statement that a country governed by its lawyers was a victim of misrule. "In fact," he added, "we have been cursed in Virginia with an abundance of small lawyers and still smaller politicians. These two characters are often combined together in the same individual, and form a class of political pettifoggers, the like of which cannot be found in any class of plagues or monsters that ever existed."

Georgia seems to have been affected at an earlier period with the same malady, if the sketch of George White in 1850 is to be believed. Referring to the establishment of the State supreme court sixty-eight years after the framing of the Constitution, and to its effect upon loose practice in legal tribunals, he wrote, "The lawyer, instead of spending his time over the card-table, and around the bar instead of within the bar, depending upon the inspiration of brandy and his ready wit, instead of the viginti annorum lucubrationes. had to spend his time in his library poring over the dusty and cobwebbed tomes so long neglected, and making out briefs which he never needed before - all this was too much. The supreme court raised about its ears a storm which at one time threatened to sweep away its existence. Empty-headed judges whose decisions were overruled demagogued it, pettifoggers, scribblers, would-be lawyers prated and fretted, and all united to overthrow a tribunal whose operations required judges and lawyers to have brains." Their efforts, however, were in vain.

The extreme statements of the Virginian and the Georgian must be read with caution; for there were many men in the South who practised the upright principles impressed by Beverly Tucker upon the minds of his law classes, and who in their daily lives exemplified the traits of Lucian Minor's model lawyer, ever leaning against litigation, upholding the habits essential to the well-being of society, seeking to bring a suit to speedy trial, never canvassing for employment, disdaining pedantic display, appeals to prejudice, and every form of charlatanry, encouraging the younger men in the profession, and serving feeless clients as faithfully as wealthy ones.

Lawyers had an immense influence, and, upholders of a system that William Wirt likened unto an old feudal castle, were conservators of Southern society. That society was not feudal, though the rich planter, with his black serfs and his white retainers, the members of the patrol, might have recalled feudalism to those persons who delight in tracing parallels in history. But Hugh S. Legaré aptly defined feudalism as a scheme of organized anarchy; and the social system of the South lacked both organization and the disregard for tradition and for conservatism that belongs to anarchy.

Society was patriarchal in its upper stratum, and pastoral in its lower one. It contained wealthy persons and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xviii. 329; De Bow's Review, x. 72.

## TRAITS OF THE PEOPLE

those who felt the extremes of poverty. There were few millionnaires among the population, and the mass of wealth was in land or slaves. The real value of real and personal property in the South in 1860 was \$6,833,-670,687, an increase of 129 per cent in ten years; and in the North, \$9,325,945,381, an increase of 139 per cent. Holdings of personal property exceeded those of real estate in all the South except in Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia, but in only three States of the North. When it is considered that the possession of slaves swelled the value of personal property and the percentage of increase, and that the slave-holding class, who were also large land-owners, were but one-fourth of the white population, it will be seen that the greater part of Southern wealth was, held by a comparative few, and that the portion for the many was a comfortable existence where living was cheap, or a constant struggle with nature for a mere subsistence.1

Whether rich or poor, Southerners had certain well-defined characteristics. No matter what their party may have been, they were democrats when it was a question of their being governed by others; but some inclined to become oligarchs when they were the rulers. Honors of public station had greater importance for them than the emoluments, and apparently than the opportunities given for sectional advantage of a material nature, though the efforts to maintain or to extend the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A Kentucky report of 1847 showed that in that State were 7,436 parents without property; 12,964 owning less than \$100 each; 12,344 owning from \$100 to \$400 each; 5,000 from \$400 to \$500 each; and 28,791 owning more than \$600 each.

political power of slavery may from one standpoint be regarded as an economic demonstration. After the administration of Jackson, though, a decided change occurred in the position that Southerners had occupied in national affairs since the organization of the government. The South's presidential potentiality declined. It had a greater portion of vice-presidents, of speakers of the House of Representatives, and of presidents protempore of the Senate, than formerly, and a slightly greater proportion of Southerners filled cabinet positions than before Van Buren's administration. But in both periods more Southerners than Northerners held prominent places in the general government in proportion to the white populations of the respective sections.

1 In the first forty-eight years of the Republic the aggregate number of years of the terms of cabinet officers was 128 for Southerners and 151 for Northerners; in the next twenty-four years it was 79 for Southerners and 77 for Northerners. During the first period 30 Southerners filled 37 cabinet positions, and 34 Northerners had filled the same number; in the second, 35 Southerners filled 39, and 37 Northerners filled 41 positions. This reckoning does not include the holding of the same position twice or thrice in different administrations. From 1837 to 1861 only two Northerners were presidents pro tem of the Senate for three years. Five Southerners held the place during the remainder of the time. Seven Southerners for eight Congresses and four Northerners for parts of two others were Speakers of the House. Nine Northerners in the same time served an aggregate of 91 years, and seven Southerners an aggregate of 118 years, on the Supreme Bench, the latter with Chief Justice Taney being in a continual majority. Before 1837 Southerners predominated in the departments of State and Justice, both in number and in aggregate length of service, but afterward in the War and Navy departments in both particulars, and in the Treasury in length of service.

Southerners held their women in honor and respect, and showed them a deference that was sincere, though having for an outsider an appearance at times of exaggeration, and which was not always enjoyed by the "poor-white" class. No patience was had with plans to bring women into competition with men in public life; but a generalization of the Pauline advice to the Corinthian church did not hinder the mother from developing a valuable administrative capacity in domestic affairs, or from exercising a gentle but powerful sway over husband and sons, while she set the example of virtue and modesty for her daughters.

The men, accustomed to out-of-doors life and the use of arms, and settled in comparative loneliness, were brave, self-reliant, and prompt to uphold the glory of American expansion, and to bear the hardships of campaigns. They were honorable, generous to a fault in personal relations, deficient in calculation and the traits belonging to a commercial community, some of which are excellent, but others questionable. The duel, with weapons among the more prominent class and with fists and thumbs among the lowlier, was an illustration of the ease with which virtues may be perverted into vices. The relic of mediævalism survived because the Southern mind was less affected than that of other sections by the practical motives that do much to strengthen the opposition to force as an adjudicator of disputes.

Practical motives did not intervene in the exercise of the virtue of hospitality. Social instincts of Southerners were intensified by the fewness of opportunities for gratifying them. In the larger cities there were modifications of the general trait, a hint of which may have been given in the different styles of architecture of dwellings in Charleston, Richmond, and Baltimore. But from few doors in the country was the traveller turned away; and he was not beset by inquiries in regard to his business, but was welcomed to the family board, and pleasantly entertained until he resumed his journey. Everywhere the same spirit prevailed. Though his ancestor had endeavored to incite the slaves to revolt, Charles A. Murray, the grandson of Dunmore, the last colonial governor of Virginia, was none the less warmly received in the mansions of the lower James, where he detected resemblances to Highland relationships; and he would have discovered like kindliness in the cottage of the yeoman of the upper country or the plantation of far-off Texas.

Hospitality had an effect upon the general status of Southern society similar to that of some rosy afterglow upon a landscape, enhancing the charm of many features, and making attractive others that under a cold, white light might mar the whole; bringing some into minute distinctness, and leaving others in low tones. \ It was the all-pervading background of a picture that never can be restored; but no palimpsest has been able to be free from the warm, underlying color, or to obscure the objects upon which it rested most advantageously. \

## CHAPTER II.

## WHERE COTTON WAS RULER.

The economic history of the South from the Revolution to the Civil War is a record of the development of one natural advantage to the neglect of several others. Fitted by nature to support a large population engaged in a variety of pursuits based upon agriculture, it had a small population occupied in the production of raw material that contributed to the maintenance of a dense population in regions where artifice contended against harsh climate and a stubborn soil.

At the Revolution there was little difference commercially between the South and the North. In 1790 their populations were nearly equal, the 657,527 slaves of the South giving it the greater number. In 1810 the South had more manufactures in proportion to its population than the North; and yet in 1835 the North was as much in advance of it in commerce and manufactures as the South was superior to the North in agriculture. The two sections, mutually dependent, had become widely separated economically and industrially. The one had overcome, by legislation and by the faculty of turning disadvantages into benefits, the laws of nature and the effects of the policy of the mother country. The other had permitted the long-resisted repressive measures of England to become ingrafted upon the body politic through custom - a mightier force than law.

England had tried to keep her American colonies in the position of producers of raw material. Nature in the South was more favorable to her schemes than in the North; and after separation the South, accustomed to the plantation rather than to the workshop, availed itself of the achievements of the century of invention, not to unearth its resources for manufactures at home, and consequently to extend its commerce, but to enlarge the plantation system. With all its manufactures, and they were many, with all its tribute and contributions to commerce, the South remained agricultural, and the plantation preponderated to such an extent over the farm, that it was obliged at times to depend upon other sections for agricultural products.

The leading crops of the South in 1776 were rice, indigo, and tobacco. Fifty years later rice had about maintained its place, tobacco had advanced, and indigo, falling from an export value of \$83,080 in 1805 to one of \$3,000 in 1851, was growing wild. In 1791 the South produced 200,000 pounds of cotton, a small fraction of the 490,000,000 pounds grown in the world. In 1848 it produced 1,120,000,000 pounds, and the rest of the world, 440,000,000 pounds. Sugar production increased from 15,000 hogsheads in 1816 to 250,000 in 1850.

Cotton, sugar, and tobacco were the Southern trinity, of like substance but of unequal power. They were a unity dominated by cotton—the king. Cotton and slavery were introduced into the South within a twelvemonth. During a century and three-quarters the former was passive, while the latter slowly developed its strength. Then the invention of a New Englander

upon Southern soil wedded the two; and from their union resulted an enormous increase of cotton and an enhancement of the value of slaves, that began to draw them from the upper slave States. Cotton was more effective for the maintenance of slavery than the agitation by the abolition societies, and slavery kept the South an agricultural community.

Cotton was practically an exclusively Southern product. From 1840 to 1860 it was grown in every Southern State except Delaware and Maryland, and, for a time, Missouri. Indiana produced 140 pounds in 1840, and 5,600 in 1850; Illinois, 200,947 in 1840, and 2,400 in 1860; and in the latter year New Mexico contributed 453,200 pounds to the total.

Cane-sugar was principally the product of Louisiana, though in 1860 Wisconsin was credited with 283 hogsheads; and 75,639 of a total of 301,922 hogsheads were made in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. Sugar had as competitors maple-sugar, 34,253,436 pounds of which in 1850, and 38,863,884 in 1860, were grown chiefly in the North, and a species of sorghum, introduced into the West about 1850, and thought likely to make that section independent of the South for its sweetening. Still the Southern supply was not enough for the country, as more was imported in 1850 than was raised at home; and the exports, 7,496 hogsheads, were mostly of refined sugar.

Tobacco was grown in all the States in 1840, but flourished best in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri. In 1860 the South produced nearly seven-eighths of the whole crop in the country. Rice belonged peculiarly to South Carolina and Georgia; but in 1840 it was found in the whole South, except Delaware and Maryland, and in small quantities in Illinois. Indiana, California, and New York grew small lots of it in 1860.1

Between 1850 and 1860 the crop of rice declined considerably; that of sugar had not as great an increase as in the preceding ten years; and though the crop of tobacco in the South was more than twice as large in 1860 as in 1850, the proportionate increase was not as great there as in the rest of the country. Cotton alone of the four staples made a steady advance, and its value was almost one-fifth of the value of all the agricultural produce of the South. Tucker estimated the value of agricultural products of the South in 1840 at \$312,380,151 in a total of \$654,387,597 for the whole country. The value of grains, etc., common to all sections, in 1850 was placed by Kettell at \$298,715,573 in the South, and at \$305,768,963 in the North; of other agricultural products at \$54,916,489 and \$178,904,527; and of slaughtered animals at \$54,398,015 and \$56,990,237 in the respective sections. The total was \$541,663,727 in the North. and \$408,030,077 in the South. To the latter should be added \$101,834,616 worth of cotton, and \$16,599,310 worth of cane-sugar, and the real total would be \$526,-464,003.2

Previous to 1793 the cotton raised in the South had

1 See Appendix B. Table 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tucker's "Progress of the United States," 195; Kettell's "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," 45. The West was at the time a greater producer of grain than the East, but was not equal to it in the value of other products connected with agriculture.

been used in the home manufacture of clothing, very little of it going abroad. From the time when its culture was begun, more than one hundred and twenty-five years elapsed before the first exportation of seven bags was made from Charleston. The exports amounted to 189,000 pounds in 1791. Two years after the invention of the gin, which made the preparation of cotton for the market an easy matter, the exports were 6,276,000 pounds; and from that time until 1860 the production steadily increased. In the year before the war the South supplied 1,089,000 bales to American spinners, an increase of 627,000 bales in ten years; and sent 4,549,000 bales to Europe.

Crops varied at different times, and the prices ranged from 6.2 cents a pound in 1843 to 16.8 cents in 1835. Tariffs were made and replaced by others; the crops of India and of other countries had their effect at times; and industrial movements in England and in the United States were felt by the growers. Droughts wrought their damage, and by one freshet in the Mississippi \$16,000,000 were lost. But the area devoted to cotton did not diminish. Between 1850 and 1855 the crop of Texas increased from 58,072 bales to 105,111, and the culture was spreading into New Mexico. The total crop of 1835 was 968,397 bales, and of 1855 was 2,521,061 bales.

The position was taken by some growers that as long as millions of human beings were to be cheaply clothed the production of cotton must be extended. A commissioner of patents, convinced of the increasing necessity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The highest price for cotton obtained between 1822 and 1860 was 20.9 cents a pound in 1825.

for cotton, broached a scheme for its use in the manufacture of mattresses. This he estimated would require 525,000 extra bales a year. One statistician argued that the tariff lowered the price of cotton, and he quoted figures to support his argument. He said that the average price of cotton had been 14 cents for five years before 1828, and 9.9 cents for five years afterward; 14.3 cents for five years after 1833; for five years before 1842 it had been 11.6 cents, and 7.2 cents for five years afterward; and 9.5 cents for five years after 1847.1

These figures seem to indicate that high tariffs meant low prices for cotton, and vice versa; but a study of the quotations will reveal the fact that while under the tariff of 1833 the price of cotton rose from 11.1 cents to 16.8 cents in 1836, it brought but 8.5 cents in 1840, and varied from 10.34 cents in 1847, the year after the passage of the Walker tariff law, to 6.4 cents in 1849, and 11.3 cents in 1850. At the same time it should be remembered that from 1816 until 1846 the duty on cotton was 3 cents a pound, although in 1816 the South was supplying England with 166,310 bales of that country's total cotton imports, - more than any other country, and nearly twice as much as the East Indies, - and that the crops of 1847 and 1850 were small, and that of 1849 was large. Even the tendency to increase the acreage for a year or two after a season of good prices did not always result in lower prices; for with a larger crop than that of 1852 the price in 1853 was more than a cent higher, and the shorter crop of 1854 reduced the price nearly a cent.

The fact is, that while the price of cotton was affected

1 De Bow's Review, i. 238; xxv. 703.

by many circumstances both at home and abroad, its cultivation was continued wherever it could be raised with any prospect of gain. Tobacco culture prompted England to fasten the slave-system upon the South. Cotton prolonged it. Sugar, introduced into Louisiana from San Domingo in 1725–1726, according to one authority, was extended to other States; but it had its strongest hold upon the place of its original transplanting, where the number of estates more than doubled between 1827 and 1844, and the annual crop was trebled. Tobacco hastened the change in Kentucky from the pioneer to the pastoral state; and its exhaustive drains upon the soil in the more northern States of the South was one of the causes of reducing one element in their population, and of checking the growth of the whole.

The status of the population in the semi-tropical States was likewise affected, though cotton, rather than tobacco, was the immediate agent. The temptation of richer and cheaper lands in the Southwest was hard to resist. Soil that would yield 1,800 pounds of cotton to each hand was preferable to that yielding only 1,200 pounds. Fertile lands of Texas were still to be brought under cultivation in 1850, and in all the other cotton States there were many acres which might have been profitably worked; but in the middle South the cotton-growers were beginning to feel that under existing conditions there were limitations to the crop that the whole South might produce.

At that time in the South there were 74,031 plantations producing at least five bales of cotton each; 15,745 tobacco plantations making at least 3,000 pounds each; 551 rice plantations producing 20,000 pounds each;

2,681 sugar planters, and 8,327 hemp planters. Upon these crops the bulk of the slaves was employed. In the lower tier of States the best lands had been appropriated for cotton. In the older tobacco States, except Kentucky, the staple had declined in quantity; but the cultivation of other crops had become more extensive, and the value of lands in Virginia had increased \$23,000,000 in thirteen years. In the country generally, farms regularly diminished in size, and the proportion of improved lands to unimproved, with the cash value of them, was greater from South to North. With some exceptions this was true of the South.

Yet the total value of farms in the South was \$1,119,380,109, and in the North, \$2,152,195,317. In 1860 the values were \$2,573,457,302 and \$4,077,415,205, and the average values per acre were \$10.54 and \$24.61 respectively. In the decade the value of Southern farms increased \$1,454,077,293, and of Northern ones, \$1,925,219,888.

The low rate of values in the South was partly due to the number of acres of unimproved land included in plantations and farms. Sixty-one per cent of land owned in the South was unimproved in 1850, and ten years later the area of such land had been reduced only in Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee, while the most marked increase had occurred in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Missouri, The greatest advance in the value of farms had in the meantime been made in Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Missouri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix B, Table 2. The total number of farms in the country at that time was 1,445,128, of which 567,030 lay in the South.

The effects of the plantation system, made possible by the presence of slavery, were not only the gradual wearing out of the soil of the large holdings, but the inclination of the man who had comparatively few acres to confine his energies to the raising of staple crops. Many planters who owned no slaves devoted themselves to cotton and tobacco, for which slave-labor was most valuable, instead of to other crops of which there was a local deficiency, and which would have brought prompt returns.

Except in the most primitive society, agriculture is as much dependent upon trade and manufactures as are they upon it; but parts of the South presented the spectacle of planters drawing upon other sections for their agricultural supplies. An estimate of 1845 was that in twenty years planters had spent \$900,000,000 in neighboring States for mules, horses, implements, and clothing, an expenditure made necessary because they had employed all their labor and land in staple crops. They may have considered it cheaper to buy than to produce, and in some instances soil and climate may not have been suitable for forage or household crops; but the main explanation was the importance attached to cotton.

The relative value of a staple to other products was illustrated on the plantation of Governor McDuffie of South Carolina. From 300 acres in 1821 it was enlarged to one of 5,000 in 1848. Of these, 750 acres were in cotton, 325 in corn, 100 in wheat, 300 in oats, and 10 in pease, potatoes, etc. One hundred and seventy-five negroes were owned, and of them one hundred and two were field-workers. But as this number included children just out of the nursery and women, the effective

force was reckoned at seventy. As the land was under a high state of cultivation, this plantation may be re-But in the new States the garded as a model one. citizens were inspired with the ambition for large operations beyond their legitimate capabilities, which led to a belief that successful agriculture depended more upon the number of acres cultivated than upon scientific and skilful culture, and to the practice of investing surplus capital in land and negroes, "making more cotton to buy more negroes to raise more cotton to buy more negroes," as a Southern journal described the circle of investment.1 A point was finally reached where the supply of labor was not sufficient to cultivate properly the land already owned, and the land lay idle, while the working force was concentrated upon cotton, other pursuits being neglected.

While one planter said in 1848 that the great majority of his class supported their families "from what may be called the offal of the farm, that is, from what is raised on it, and is scarcely missed or calculated in its products," little hay was raised in 1845 outside of Virginia and Kentucky, and Louisiana was dependent upon the West for bacon, pork, butcher-meat, breadstuffs, grain and food for cattle and horses; and from more than one source came explanations of the incubus upon the planters. One writer pictured a planter, just returned from a political meeting, as feeling that he was an injured man, and the victim of a conspiracy between the merchant and the manufacturer. But he added, "Let the planter set to work himself and turn off his overseer; let him make his bread, his meat, raise a few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxviii. 350; iii. 418.

colts, and hay to feed them on; let him increase the quantity of corn and forage until he can spare a little; let him take the interest in his business that the merchant or manufacturer must who expects success; let him teach his sons that idleness is the 'road to ruin;' let him teach his daughters that they are not dolls or milliner girls, but that they are the future makers or marrers of this beautiful Republic." He thought that there was too much sloth in the South and Southwest, and recommended more energy, and a mixed course of husbandry.

Another, a Mississippian, wrote in 1852, "Let the cotton planters for three years dare to make their own corn, pork, beef, mutton, wool, and they will see cotton at a certain price of twelve cents, and see good cornhouses, full barns, fine pastures, thrift, and all else indicative of prosperity. In lieu of which, what did you see in your last summer's tour? Did you see any little twelve by six log cribs covered with four-feet board? Any fodder-stacks, with the Mississippi mud? A pasture for calves without grass or water? Sheep with one-half of each without wool? Fences as if the rails had fallen from above, and happened to light upon each other? Men riding with rope bridle-reins? It boots, not what I am, whether the one thing or the other. Are these things true or false? Has the age of false prophets and bad counsellors passed?"

And a man devoted to Southern interests answered that the statements contained more truth than poetry.

Governor Hammond wrote in the same strain of the neglect of their own interests by planters, and said, "Of all the causes which have combined to impair the agriculture of South Carolina, the most injurious, perhaps, is the habitual want of personal attention to details by the planters themselves." 1

To be sure, in some sections there was exhaustion of the soil by over-cropping; the long, hot summers and the heavy washings of winter tended to deterioration in spite of hillside ditches and other expedients; and the whole South should not be judged by the experience of Mississippi or of South Carolina. Because in one of the counties of tidewater Virginia the majority of ploughs used were "little one-horse" affairs, it must not be supposed that primitive agriculture was everywhere the rule, or that discontent was general. In fact, it was asserted that in that very county, where wheat and clover lands were worth from ten to thirty dollars an acre, and "old fields" from one to five dollars, neither the doctor, the lawyer, the constable, nor the sheriff was able to live entirely by his profession.

The jeremiads now and then uttered were evidences of the feeling that everything was not as it should be, and of a desire to remedy patent evils; but they should not lead to the conclusion that the weaknesses of one State were shared by its neighbors, or that the staples were the sole products of Southern agriculture. A comparison of crops common to both sections of the country will remove such an impression.<sup>2</sup>

Of the three articles for human consumption, wheat, corn, and Irish potatoes, the South led only in the production of one, corn; and the extensive use of that for stock probably accounts for the large quantities raised.

De Bow's Review, i. 435; v. 370; viii. 516; xii. 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Appendix B, Table 3.

It moreover entered to a great degree into the diet of slaves. The greater proportionate increase from decade to decade of the crop in the free States came from the Western prairies.

Between 1840 and 1850 the South's wheat-supply diminished, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky having short crops; and the increase in the next ten years was half as large as that of the North. The Southern production of corn did not keep pace with that in the rest of the country; and in the growing of Irish potatoes it was far behind, its crop of 1840 being about 12 per cent of the whole, and of 1860 about 10 per cent. In 1840 Virginia ranked fourth in the country as a grower of oats, though New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio produced the bulk of the crop. But less attention was afterward given to them in the South; and the crop was reduced from 40,889,107 bushels in 1850 to 33,254,063 bushels in 1860, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Texas being the only States showing an increase, and the crops of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri decreasing by more than 8,000,000 bushels.

The use of other food for stock had not a little to do with the small crops of oats, though that does not explain the great deficiency shown by the eighth census. The production of hay in the South never exceeded ten per cent of the whole; and with the advantage of short winters and, therefore, with less necessity for the consumption of hay, the planter frequently was without his home-supply.

The total number of live stock in 1840 was 31,055,189 in the South, and 30,864,814 in the North. The dif-

ference was even greater in 1850, to the credit of the South; but the values were \$253,615,330 in the South, and \$290,565,186 in the North, and in 1860 they were \$524,446,383 and \$583,043,833 respectively. The larger number in the South, and their smaller actual value, though it was greater than the North's in proportion to area and population, was due to the preponderance of swine in the South, Tennessee leading the country in 1840, and to the greater occupation in dairying at the North. In the South, too, the mule was preferred to the horse on the farm, because of its hardiness, endurance, patience, and the cheapness of its food. It cost more than the horse, but it could do more work upon less nourishment. There was as much difference between the mule and the horse in the South as between the slave and the free laborer.

The value of slaughtered animals, an indirect product of agriculture, was larger proportionately in the South than in the North. It increased between 1850 and 1860 by nearly \$3,000,000 more than that of the North, and it amounted to \$106,417,515, within a few thousand dollars of half the total in the country.

Another indirect product of the farm was wool. In its production Virginia ranked fifth in the United States in 1840; and there was not a Southern State that did not contribute to the total of 35,802,114 pounds in 1840, 55,516,957 in 1850, and 60,510,343 in 1860. The South's share was 8,273,717 pounds in 1840; in 1850, 12,797,854 pounds; and in 1860, 14,685,416 pounds. In the last year, though, the clip was reduced 550,500 pounds in six seaboard States; and the increase was 1,072,231 pounds in the rest of the South, excluding Texas, where it was 1,365,831 pounds.

In the older States, from time to time efforts were made to counteract the effects upon general agriculture of a desire to make crops upon which slave-labor could be most advantageously employed. Agricultural societies were formed in some; and under their auspices fairs were held in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, and Missouri, while the South Carolina Institute was the promoter of similar exhibitions. These displays, though, had less practical effect than those of the North, where in one year, for example, one hundred and ninety-five premiums for the best ploughs were offered in Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Connecticut, and New Hampshire.

Many persons urged the policy of varying crops, and of introducing new products, such as olives, dates, grapes, cork-oaks, camphor-trees, and New Zealand flax. It was argued that the demand for rice was diminishing; and Francis Bonynge, who had lived for fourteen years in India and Western China, advocated as a substitute the cultivation of tea and indigo. Experiments in tea culture had already been made; and he estimated that the United States spent annually \$5,000,000 for tea costing twenty cents a pound, while it could be raised at home for four cents. Most of the suggestions involved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1855 all the Southern States were represented by vice-presidents in the United States Agricultural Society. They were C. H. Holcombe, Delaware; H. G. S. Key, Maryland; G. W. P. Custis, Virginia; Henry S. Burgwyn, North Carolina; James Hopkinson, South Carolina; D. A. Reese, Georgia; Jackson Morton, Florida; A. P. Hatch, Alabama; A. G. Brown, Mississippi; J. D. B. De Bow, Louisiana; T. G. Rusk, Texas; B. Gratz, Kentucky; M. P. Gentry, Tennessee; Thomas Allen, Missouri; and T. B. Flournoy, Arkansas.

the employment of slave-labor; but owners preferred to use it to the greatest immediate advantage. Others were not in favor of novelties. The advancing price of slaves in the plantation regions was hard to be resisted in States where the tired soil would not return a remunerative crop; and non-slaveholders who might have desired to make other crops than the staples, or than the stuff required for their-own use, were circumscribed by the existence of slavery.

Plantations absorbed the richest lands in the State; and the failure of slavery to meet the demands for labor upon the large plantations was without doubt one of the main reasons for the greater proportion in the South of unimproved land. In all the South the proportion of unimproved land to all the land owned remained about the same between 1850 and 1860. In the rest of the country it was reduced about 8 per cent.

New York, one of the best examples of the older States of the North, reduced its proportion from 35 to 31 per cent. Virginia, of corresponding position in the South, increased it from 60 to 63 per cent. It should be noted, too, that in 1860 the farm-lands of New York were worth three times as much per acre as those of Virginia, and that the total population of the former had advanced in seventy years from less than one-half to more than twice that of the latter.

Illinois and Mississippi were admitted to the Union

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The need for more labor was the avowed purpose of the organization in 1859 of the African Labor Supply Association, a plan to introduce into the South the apprentice or coolie system, and regarded by some as a scheme to circumvent the laws against the African slave-trade.

within one year. In the ten years before 1860, Illinois's proportion of unimproved land was diminished 21 per cent, and Mississippi's was increased 2 per cent. During the decade the crop of cotton in Mississippi increased from 484,292 bales to 1,195,699, valued at \$51,654,196, more than one-fifth of all the cotton grown in the country; and the crop of wheat in Illinois from 9,414,575 to 23,837,023 bushels, valued at \$23,360,282.

But Illinois's corn-crop, one-seventh of the whole, was \$30,000,000 more valuable than Mississippi's cottoncrop; and its excess of rye, oats, wool, Irish potatoes, barley, buckwheat, orchard products, garden truck, butter, cheese, hay, hops, flax, wine, silk cocoons, beeswax, honey, sorghum, maple-molasses, and slaughtered animals, was far greater than Mississippi's excess of rice, tobacco, pease, beans, sweet potatoes, hemp, sugar, and cane-molasses. The value of home-made goods in Illinois was \$933,815, and in Mississippi, \$1,318,426; but the aggregate value of the products of industry in the former State was \$56,750,000, and in the latter \$6,590,-687, notwithstanding Mississippi's large excess of manufactured cotton goods, leather, and machinery. In forty years Illinois's population was multiplied thirty times, and Mississippi's ten times; and 55 per cent of the latter were slaves.

In 1860 the age of improved farming machinery had only begun, and steam had not supplanted human labor to any great extent in the fields and barnyard. Under conditions making it necessary for men to toil, the farmers of the North had an advantage over planters of the South in being willing to add their own work to that of the hired hands. This reduced the expenses of the

farm, and gave better results, as a farmer is more interested in his property than any one else. Small farms made necessary more careful methods of administration and more thorough tillage, the care of all the land, and the widening of experience with various crops. The desire of Southern planters to direct all the energies of their land and labor to staples one year after another, weakened the best land, set the pace for those who had no slaves and for those who were compelled to cultivate the poorer lands, and added to the reasons for a diversification of crops in other parts of the country.

Even where products other than cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice were cultivated, the pleas of thoughtful Southerners for different methods of farming were seldom effective. There was a disposition in some of the older States to enter upon new operations; for men had begun to lose their absolute faith in tobacco and rice, the crop of the latter in 1860 being 28,273,324 pounds less than that of 1850. Truck-farmers near Norfolk, Virginia, were developing that system which has assumed such large proportions on the Southern seaboard; and in June and July, 1858, they sent to Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York 96,096 packages, representing \$336,751.50, a clear gain of from \$73 to \$175 an acre. But in some of the leading crops not staple there was an inclination to curtailment.

The Southern crop of sweet potatoes, a plant almost peculiar to the South, increased from 1850 to 1860 by 2,126,786 bushels, an advance of less than 6 per cent. But it was reduced largely in Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Missouri; while in the free States it was doubled, the increase being more

than half the South's increase. The crops of pease and beans, used in various ways in different sections, maintained their great excess in the South; while the North excelled in rye, barley, hay, buckwheat, butter, cheese, and orchard products; and the West usurped the position of Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky as corn-growers. That crop was smaller in 1860 than in 1850 in South Carolina and Tennessee, and elsewhere it had not kept pace with the growth of population. In Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Texas only had the cultivation of oats advanced, though not sufficiently to prevent a total decrease in the South of 7,625,044 bushels; and while the hemp-crop of Kentucky more than doubled, that of Missouri was reduced.

Tobacco culture was increased in every Southern State except Florida; and the increase of the Northern crop was nearly three times as great proportionately, rising from one-fourteenth of the whole in 1850 to oneseventh in 1860.

Cotton alone of all the Southern crops showed an increase everywhere. The smallest percentage of increase, 14, was in South Carolina, and the largest, 597, was in Texas. Virginia, Louisiana, and Kentucky had large gains, and small crops for domestic use were grown in Maryland and Delaware. The production was by no means the largest of which Southern soil was capable, but it was about all that could be made by the labor available for it. Its great advance, compared with the condition of other crops, — conceding, too, that probably complete returns were not made in 1860 in the South, — indicates that its immediate importance overshadowed in the minds of planters the direct and indi-

rect benefits that might have accrued to the South had every State and every planter turned all opportunities to account.

The South was in several crops proportionately ahead of the North in 1860; but it was yielding many points to the West. The plantation and the farm were in rivalry; and the farm had begun to take the lead, including in the output of the South the crops especially its own. Warnings of fifteen years had been to all intents disregarded. The king had become a tyrant.

### CHAPTER III.

#### PHASES OF INDUSTRY.

"The fashion of the South has been to consider the production of cotton and sugar and rice the only rational pursuits of gentlemen, except the professions, and, like the haughty Greek and Roman, to class the trading and manufacturing spirit as essentially servile." 1

These words of a Southerner in 1852, when the South had one-fifth of the manufacturing establishments in the country, —27,076 in a total of 122,668, —are applicable to a part of the South in explanation of its industrial and commercial position at the time. A more correct statement is, that manufactures and commerce had been retarded in the South because one class, limited in numbers, and representing about one-fourth of the white population, had for various reasons preferred a plantation civilization to any other. And as the plantation dwarfed other forms of agriculture, so it prevented the growth of a sentiment favorable to manufactures.

Events between 1790 and 1816 determined the divergence of the South from the rest of the country. Restrictions upon capital, due to the cessation of the lawful slave-trade, the Embargo, and the War of 1812–1814, did not paralyze capital in New England and the Middle States, but led to its diversion to manufactures. The Yankee was never unwilling to turn his energies into

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xii. 556.

a new field when the old one was closed to him; and the rapid extension of cotton-growing in the South, representing the diversion of capital in that section, was a powerful adjunct to Northern industrial enterprise.

Colonially, the South had been taught under the grasping policy of royalty to look abroad for its manufactures and luxuries. Planting became so customary and profitable under such a policy, that the habit of dependence was continued when the North presently replaced the mother country as artificer and factor.

As late as 1830, though the expansion of slavery had been limited by legislation in the Missouri Compromise, few men could have doubted that the reliance of the South upon the North for manufactured articles was much less than the dependence of the North and of England upon the South as a supplier of raw material, the basis of manufactures. Texas was still to be annexed; and beyond Texas were Mexico and Central America, offering indefinite opportunities for the plantation. Texas and a part of Mexico were gained, but nothing except filibustering fulfilled the dream of Central America. Yet with the line around slavery being drawn more closely, and the boundaries of the plantation system being curtailed, the cotton South lagged in the industrial race, and the border States were hampered by the institution that they felt to be a burden, but which they could see no safe way to abolish. Compassed as it was by political compromises, slavery must ultimately have toppled through its own overweight; but in 1860 it was so valuable for the plantation that it was not only not readily diverted into the factory, but was an obstacle in the way of the employment of capital and of other labor in that direction.

To this practical impediment was added a sentimental one; and in 1849 Richard F. Reynolds, in a report to the South Carolina legislature, alluded to the disregard for industrial life which may have been expressed years before in the prohibition of steam-engines in Charleston. "The merchant, the manufacturer, or the mechanic," he said, "comes to the Capitol; he looks into your Rules of Order, and finds that you have provided for the planter, the physician, and the lawyer, but that he is nowhere recognized there. A name and a place is denied him; and he feels that although his brethren of the legislature who are sent up here to legislate for the good of all are entirely disposed to mete out justice to him, yet he finds you unadvised of his requirements, and actually prejudiced unwisely and unjustly against him in consequence of being unaware of his true position in the productive community." 2 Reynolds's observations may have applied to South Carolina, and to those States to which the cotton culture had been extended; but the speech of James L. Orr a few years later, at the opening of the South

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. H. Taylor of Charleston, alluding in 1850 to early attempts in South Carolina to establish cotton factories, wrote, "There was a gradual abandonment of most of these early efforts to manufacture cotton and woolen fabrics, even upon plantations and by hand, except in very limited quantities, the planter believing his interests better promoted by turning his whole strength upon the plantation, and purchasing everything needed in the way of supplies." [De Bow's Review, viii. 24.]

<sup>2</sup> De Bow's Review, vii. 93.

Carolina Institute for the Promotion of Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts, and Manufactures, showed that some Carolinians were anxious to make the change from the custom of following one occupation almost exclusively, and that other sections of the South had done so. Orr estimated that one-third of the white population of Maryland were engaged in industries, while one-fifth of those in South Carolina were artisans and mechanics. His speech was frank, and in it he pointed to the ships built in Baltimore of lumber grown in South Carolina as an example of the neglect of opportunity by the latter State.

Shipbuilding had declined in parts of the South contemporaneously with the depression of its commerce; and, notwithstanding such a measure as that of the Louisiana legislature offering in 1852 a bonus of five dollars a ton for every vessel of more than 1.000 tons built in the State, the industry could not overcome the advantage of bounties and of the development of commerce early seized by the North. In 1840 the value of vessels built in the country was \$7,061,094, of which \$684,032 belonged to the South. That section built 138 of a total of 1,022 in 1845; 267 of 1,701 in 1853; 351 of 2,024 in 1855; and 236 of 1,071 in 1860. The tonnage of vessels, numbering 236, built in the South in 1860 was 39,478, and of 835 built in the North, 173,414, showing that the Southern vessels were designed for use along the coast or on the rivers rather than for ocean commerce. The distribution of shipyards, too, was more general north of the Virginia capes than elsewhere.

Shipbuilding illustrates in a small way the history of

general manufactures in the South. The trade did not develop because the pursuits making it profitable were neglected by capital that found an easy and more familiar outlet in agriculture. The indisposition to change the form of investment was, after all, the great drawback upon Southern industries; and its effects were more far-reaching than those of injudicious selection of sites for establishments, the incapacity of employees, and the rather imaginary fear that the presence of manufactures in the community would undermine free-trade principles. Want of capital lessened the capacity of the manufacturer to enlarge his operations or to improve his plant after shipments of coarse goods had begun to put Northern men on their mettle. Cotton-spinners, for instance, without the necessary funds to hold their goods under a certain limit, were compelled to sell when their drafts upon New York consignees came due, whatever may have been the state of the market; and it was not unusual for goods to bring a lower price in New York than at the factory.

Complaint was also made of a failure of the South to support heartily and to develop its own industries. The blocks of Quincy granite at Columbia were considered by a South Carolinian to be "enduring monuments of our shame." At Richmond, in 1856, it was stated that with machine-shops at hand able to do all the work, and demonstrating their capacity by securing a contract to build the engines for two government steamers, Southern railroad companies continued to patronize Northern firms. In this case it was said that the companies were guided by their engineers and other agents who came from the North, and who, like teachers from the same

section, were inclined to use Northern material. But the real cause, no doubt, was the enterprise of Northern firms in pushing their wares, the business relations that caused the flow of capital to the North, and the greater attention given there to the more finished products.

Suggestions for overcoming these obstacles were sometimes impracticable. Hamilton Smith, a native of New England, but a resident of Kentucky, proposed in 1849 an amendment to the Constitution placing an export duty upon raw cotton, so as to insure the manufacture of all of it at home. He would have fixed 1865 as the year when the change should take effect, and he believed that it would result in the closing of European mills, and the migration of capital and labor, thus freed, to the South. He was seconded by S. R. Cockrill of Nashville, who combined sentiment and common-sense in his plea. He wrote that dependence was "not the true position of the chivalrous South," and that an export duty of five dollars per bale on cotton would produce what the South needed "to maintain its pride and independence." He estimated that the expense of from eight to nine dollars per bale for shipment of cotton to England was charged to the grower; he noted the difference between the average price of the cotton-crop, \$55,000,000, and its value, \$180,000,000, when spun and woven, and expatiated upon the gain that would fall to the South if in 350 new mills, costing \$52,000,000, were worked up the 1,700,000 bales available after disposing of 600,000 to the North,

To impose an export duty would have been to turn back the hands of time, and would have involved the policy of interference by legislation with natural laws of trade, that usually results disastrously, however great the temporary benefit may be. But the proposition was a recognition of the importance of overcoming the inertia of local capital so as to supplement the advantage of proximity to raw material possessed by the South.

Cheapness of cotton, abundance of water-power, the resources of the coal-fields, when steam began to supplant the dam, the other mineral resources, and the wealth of forests of pine, live oak, cypress, and other woods in which the South abounded, did not even attract from other parts sufficient capital to develop the section to anything like its full extent. No artificial expedients were necessary there. But capital did not come. There were exceptions to this general condition. Some Northern men did find it to their interests to embark upon lines of industry upon Southern soil; but capitalists were doubtless influenced by many considerations in remaining at home. There was a belief that the Southern climate was not as healthful as they could desire. They had more numerous and more convenient means of handling finished goods. They could not have escaped the feeling that manufactures would flourish best in a region that had longest had the manufacturing impulse, just as their Southern brethren pinned their faith to the plantation, and to the products of the soil, leaving to another generation and to other men the development of underground riches.

Bituminous coal was abundant in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas; and Virginia had the start in owning the first collieries operated in the United States. Yet at a mining and manufacturing convention at Richmond in the early fifties, regret

was expressed at the small output of coal by Virginia with 21,000 square miles of beds compared with that of Great Britain with but half the area. The South, however, mined for other sections. It increased its output from 11,711,039 bushels in 1840 to 34,103,727 in 1860; and the North's rose from 15,892,152 to 110,273,-200 bushels.

When natural inducements to establish factories in the South were presented, Northerners must have appreciated the value of their own closer relation to the market for their diversified products, a factor not always remembered in considering the lack of local patronage for Southern factories.

Life was simpler in the rural South than in the urban North. The wants of a great majority of its inhabitants were comparatively few. What they could not buy in the early days they made; and as for many there was little change in their mode of life during the first fifty years of the century, the value of homemade goods was greater among them than in the North, in spite of similar conditions in the ever-widening West. In the Souththe value of family goods rose from \$16,065,789 in 1840 to \$18,633,129 in 1850, every State increasing its product except South Carolina and Kentucky; but by 1860 the value had fallen in every State except Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas, and still the total was \$18,526,674, more than three times that in the North, where it had steadily diminished from \$12,957,591 in 1840 to \$5,831,548, the value in 1850 having been \$8,860,515.

Another factor to be considered by manufacturers was the supply of labor. This, it was contended, was

cheap in the South. Labor in all grades was generally cheaper there than in the North, including the interest on the investment in slaves except in special cases. From a report of the commissioner of patents in 1848, it was estimated that the wage, with board, paid to field-laborers was from \$10 to \$15 a month for whites, and from \$5 to \$12 for slaves; and for female domestics from \$4 to \$6 for whites, and from \$3 to \$5 for slaves. In 1850 the average monthly wage in the South for a farmhand, with board, ranged from \$7.21 in North Carolina, to \$12.80 in Louisiana; and for a laborer, from 75 cents a day in Texas to 42 cents in North Carolina. In the North, exclusive of the Territories and California, where conditions were exceptional, the highest wage for farm hands was \$13,55 in Massachusetts, and the lowest \$10,50 in Indiana. For laborers the range was from 84 cents in Massachusetts to 51 cents in Pennsylvania. 1860, when immigration had reduced the wages on the Pacific coast, and when the average in the country for farmhands was \$18.80 a month, and for laborers \$1 a day, Maryland paid the lowest, \$9.71, to the former, and North Carolina the lowest, 54 cents, to the latter. Louisiana paid the highest rate in the South, -\$17 to the one, and 97 cents to the other.

In 1851 the average combined wages of males and females in the cotton-mills of Massachusetts were \$46.50 a month, and in South Carolina \$22.24. The average for each class was higher in the North than in the South. At the DeKalb factory in South Carolina blacks were employed for several years, except in the weaving department. Thirty belonged to the company

who said that the blacks could compare favorably with the white operatives. In 1849 the factory employed 72 white operatives, of whom 20 were female weavers at wages ranging from \$12 to \$20 a month. The hired blacks had received 183 cents a day and board. The whites who succeeded them, not including the weavers, were given from 13 to 36 cents a day.

All the 123 hands at the Saluda factory were black, and some of them were owned by the company. The superintendent and the male and female overseers were whites, principally from the manufacturing districts of the North. The experience of this factory before its failure led to an estimate of \$75 and \$116 a year as the cost of a slave operative and a white one respectively; and the statement was made in 1850 that it afforded to the South "the best evidence that when the channels of agriculture are choked, the manufacturing of her own productions will open new channels of profitable employment for our slaves." 1

At the Vaucluse factory in 1849 there were 94 hands, averaging 37.85 cents a day. Eleven of them were men, 50 or 60 were girls, and the balance were boys. The 300 whites at a mill in Augusta, Ga., averaged \$3.05 a week; and those at Prattsville, Ala., \$8 a month. The 100 white hands at Columbus, Ga., aged twelve years and upward, received from 12 to 75 cents a day, and the overseers or assistants from \$1 to \$1.25.

In woollen-mills the average wage for men was higher in some parts of the South than in the North in 1850, though women received less; but in 1860 the aggregate average was higher in the North.

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, ix. 432; xi. 319.

There was a difference, also, between the wages of men and women and those of whites and blacks in other industries. In the salt-works at Pensacola, in 1845, the negroes received \$15 and the whites \$25 a month. In the bagging-factory at Louisville 80 men received from \$3 to \$9 a week, 20 women from \$2 to \$4, and 70 boys and girls from \$1 to \$3. Mechanics were given \$2.50, and laborers \$1.50, a day at the Leeds foundry in New Orleans, employing 130 men.

Between 1850 and 1860 the average wage per hand in all the industries advanced from \$197.64 to \$272.14 a a year in the South, and from \$261.83 to \$280.37 in the North. Comparing the small wage increase and the large addition of 45 per cent in the number of hands in the North, with the large increase in wages and the small increase of 15 per cent in the number of hands in the South, and remembering that in parts of the South manufactures had assumed a higher grade, it is obvious that the first condition, at a time when prices generally advanced, was a result of an increasing supply of labor, and that the second was caused by a short supply due to an unwillingness or an inability to meet the demand.

For wage conditions in the South slavery was partly responsible, both directly and indirectly. Such was especially the case among farmhands and laborers. One Southerner, who believed that whites were the more effective workers, estimated that the cost of 20 negro hands for a year would be \$1,000 for hire, \$200 for clothes, and \$400 for board; and that 16 white hands, capable of doing the same amount of work, would cost in the North \$2,112 for wages, and \$800 for board, a gain

of \$1,312 where slaves were employed. Another, who regarded slaves as better workers, placed the annual cost of 103 negroes owned by their employer at \$19,838, and of the same number of whites at \$43,260.

There was a diversity of practice among employers of other labor than farmhands and house-servants. Some factories had all the white labor needed, though for a time there was a hesitation about taking employment in them; some employed slaves, and others had whites and negroes engaged in different operations. More than three-fourths of the laborers on the James River and Kanawha Canal in 1853 were slaves, and at the same time contractors had from 300 to 400 slaves employed upon other public works. Thirty-eight miles of the Cheraw and Darlington Railroad were graded by the hands of planters living on the route, and one planter paid for \$30,000 worth of stock of the Wilmington and Manchester Railroad by the work of his slaves in its construction.

Opinions as to the wisdom of employing slaves in other than agricultural pursuits varied. One proposition was that whites could not stand the heat of factories, and were less manageable than blacks. Another was, that when the slave became a mechanic he became half free. One observer thought that the employment of slaves upon railroads would relieve the planters of "the annoyances accompanying the introduction among the plantations of contractors with white labor from the North or from abroad." But other persons were under a conviction that the whites were put at a disadvantage when slaves were trained to the mechanic arts, or to occupations usually pursued by another race.

This last position, taken, perhaps, to check a growing antagonism between the slave-holding class and other whites, pointed to the indirect effect of slavery upon wages. Though the increasing value of slaves from the agricultural standpoint after 1850 may have prevented them from monopolizing industrial occupations, their presence in the community had made agriculture of first importance. There were good white mechanics at the South, especially in the cities, and they received high wages. Inventive capacity was not wanting, for of 16,137 patents granted up to 1849 the South received 2,906. But agriculture tended to produce, as Governor Hammond expressed it, "a lofty contempt for all mechanic arts," among some who might otherwise have

<sup>1</sup> Of these, Maryland had obtained 1,155, the greatest number in its section; and in the North, Massachusetts had obtained 2,860, New York 6,661, Pennsylvania 3,187, Connecticut 1,193, and Ohio 775. An instance of the mechanical sense in the South, even had the sewing-machine and the reaper no history, was given in De Bow's prophecy of the type-setting machine. In 1846 he wrote, "The man who may be printing our article congratulates himself, if he is like others of his craft with whom we have conversed, no doubt, that types at least cannot be adjusted in composition by machinery, and so his art is forever safe. But suppose that to be realized of which rumor has more than once spoken, and a bona fide type-setter be introduced into a printing-office, capable of doing as much work with one man as a dozen could effect without it. We should hail the invention with gratulation, and so would the printers themselves, could they see the whole case at once. The printing art would receive an immediate extension which no man can conceive, and in a very brief space this iron-headed and iron-fingered compositor would call for the services, with less labor to themselves, of many times the number which it first may throw out of employ." [De Bow's Review, ii. 103.7

been good skilled mechanics and operatives, and who, by reason of their surroundings, could have comfortably worked for less than the Northern ones. High wages paid to painters, bricklayers, masons, and carpenters in some cities, but varying as much between Richmond and New Orleans as between Chicago and Richmond. were not contradictory of the general cheapness of labor, but were merely the result of absence of competition with the plantation artisan in places where there was a demand for skilled labor. They were not high enough, with the addition of other attractions, to counteract the influences, sentimental or practical, but yet effective, that kept upon free soil those competitors who by removal would have reduced them. Trained men and women were brought from the North to superintend the work in factory or mill. But neither the Northern operatives, nor those coming from abroad, were induced to migrate to the more genial clime, except, perhaps, on the border. The absence of age limitations or restrictions of the hours of labor could hardly have counterbalanced the comparative cheapness of living in the South, because the agitation of both questions was only in embryo in the North. The objection of whites to working on a level with negroes, the child of a natural race prejudice, was as great in the North as in the South, if not greater. That may have prevented immigration. But a more powerful influence probably was the belief that a strong caste feeling existed in the South against personal labor and personal service. In the South there was hardly any relation similar to that of the "help" in the North.

Slavery was undoubtedly responsible for the presence

of a smaller proportion of females among Southern operatives than were found in the North, where their increase was also greater between 1850 and 1860. In the latter year 12 per cent of the employees in the South, and 22 per cent of those in the North, were females. They were, therefore, less effective in the South than elsewhere in keeping down the average of wages.

Because of agriculture, and of the civilization based upon slavery, the necessity for a native manufacturing population was not felt for many years. When manufacturing began to assume any proportions, it was chiefly directed into lines requiring limited skill on the part of operatives or employees, such as mining, tanning, lumbering, and other primary transformations of raw material. The scarcity of capital in parts of the South was a bar to the adoption of more involved operations demanding wages sufficiently higher in amount to raise the general standard; but even when capital was forthcoming, some men lamented the lack of skill in operatives and mechanics, and "the notion of young men that training in handicrafts caused them to lose caste in society."

Neither the individual independence of the local factory, the disinclination of many to work, the inability of others to find employment, nor other influences, prevented the South from occupying an important place in the industrial field.<sup>2</sup> In 1840 the total capital invested in industry in the country was \$267,726,579; and in the South, \$54,195,261. Investments of that kind did not

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xvi. 453; xxiv. 382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Appendix C, Table I.

maintain the same proportions in the South in subsequent years. They slowly declined until, in 1860, they represented but 16.62 per cent of the whole, while the value of the products was 15.45 per cent of the whole, slightly less than that of 1850.

When men of that day discussed Southern industries, they dwelt particularly upon cotton manufactures. was not without reason. To have had cotton-mills convenient to the fields would have meant, under normal conditions, not only wealth for the planters, but also the creation of a variety of other industries, - the machineshop, the furniture-factory, the forge and foundry, and the thorough utilization of resources above and below ground. But conditions were abnormal. Seven per cent of the products of industry in the North, depending principally upon distant regions for its material, and 4 per cent of those of the South, were cotton goods. More than one-third of the latter's share was made in Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, where cotton was not a crop. Of the total products of the South, 62 per cent were made in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, where the plantation was vielding to the farm.

The region farther south, though, had its cotton-factories. One of the earliest to be started in the country was opened in 1811 in Wilkes County, Ga.; and in 1855 Louisiana and Texas were the only Southern States in which spinning was not carried on. South Carolina had a number of small factories in 1844; Georgia had thirty-two in 1848, one of them, at Columbus, having been in operation for ten years with success. In Adams County, Miss., at Van Buren, Ark., at Manches-

ter, opposite Richmond, Va., in the suburbs of Baltimore, at Wilmington, Del., and in many other localities, mills transformed bales of cotton into yarn or more advanced products. The North, quicker to avail itself of the enterprise of Samuel Slater and Francis C. Lowell in bringing the power loom and improved machinery for carding and spinning to this country, ventured first upon making prints and the finer products of cotton, long left to England. But the Huntsville factory in Alabama was turning out cottonades, checks, and ginghams in 1850.

So considerable had been the increase in the output of coarse goods and yarns at the South by that time, the consumption of bales advancing from 66,000 in 1844 to 107,615, nearly one-fifth of the whole amount used in the country, and Philadelphia and New York buying for local and Western customers, that Eastern manufacturers became aroused.

The Dry Goods Economist, an authoritative journal, said that in the Northern and Middle States there was less of the prosperity that in the rest of the country existed in a marked degree. European politics were operating to keep Lancashire goods cheap, and to promote large exports to America, in spite of the large production of home goods. In the cotton States, factories had so multiplied that at least 175,000 spindles were working, requiring 100,000 bales, and new establishments were being erected. "This rivalry," said the paper, "affects the old established factories the more that the new factories are all armed with the newest improved machinery, and will produce at probably 20 per cent better advantage. The competition from this

quarter is every way calculated to diminish the old margin between the cost of raw material and that of fabrics; therefore those old concerns which had reached the minimum margin at which they could work must shut up shop and give place to more competent operators."1 This was one way of encouraging the Northern manufacturers to extra efforts. At the same time A. A. Lawrence of Boston was presenting in Hunt's Magazine arguments to show that cotton could not be manufactured cheaply near the field of production. Statistics were, however, against him, and it was an easy matter for Hamilton Smith to combat his theories. The warnings of New England to the South and the West continued, though; and it was hardly necessary for J. H. Lumpkin of Georgia, after showing that New England had added by manufactures \$300,000,000 to its wealth. to add the significant words, "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

The advice of Lawrence, and the alarm of the *Dry Goods Economist*, were in marked contrast with the attitude of General James, who was active in urging the South to engage in manufactures, and who was in one sense a Southern manufacturer himself.

Statistics were indeed against Lawrence.<sup>2</sup> From 1840 to 1860 a gradual decrease occurred in the number of establishments, following the tendency to concentrate all the operations in one factory. But accompanying it was a great increase in the capital invested, nearly doubling in twenty years, in the value of material, 62 per cent between 1850 and 1860; in the number of

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, ix. 430.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Appendix C, Table 2.

hands employed, 64 per cent; and in the value of the products, 148 per cent in twenty years. So much for the whole country. The South did best proportionately in the ten years ended in 1850 in the increase of capital, raw material, the number of hands, and the value of products; but subsequently failed to maintain its record, although making an advance. The fact that contradicted Lawrence's argument was that while the percentage of increase in the capital and number of hands in the South was more than twice that in the North, the value of the products in the former section increased seven times as rapidly as that in the latter.

The factory was in some places the nucleus for a progressive industrial neighborhood. The cotton-mill at Prattsville, a secondary growth, was in a settlement of forty comfortable dwellings, with two churches and two schoolhouses. In 1847 no lawyer had become necessary in the community. Graniteville, S.C., was the child of the cotton-factory. In 1850 it had a population of 1,000, the growth of two or three years. The factory, considered a model, was of white granite, and its main building was 350 feet long. Ornamental cottages, each costing \$400, were provided for the operatives' families. The children were engaged in the factory, the mothers in housekeeping, and the fathers in gardening. liquor was permitted to be sold on the place; a library was provided, and religious instruction was given the children. In 1855 between \$8,000 and \$9,000 were on deposit in the savings-bank.

At Vaucluse, not far away, operatives lived in the houses rent free, and were allowed to cultivate all the land they choose to fence. Employees of the DeKalb factory has the continued in confidence and a fag-school was continued to the innuity of the real with the transfer to the continued to the real continued to the continued to t

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clip was about 24 per cent of the whole. In the same time the number of its wool establishments, including some fulling-mills, more than doubled, and those in the North increased 16 per cent. The amount of capital in the South invested in that line increased from 3.3 per cent to 18 per cent of the whole, and the value of products was multiplied nearly seven times, though in 1860 it was less than one-sixteenth of the total.

Cotton and woollen goods represented but a small part of Southern manufactures. Their value in 1860 was \$15,956,268 in a total of \$291,375,413, while their value in the North was \$168,047,622 in a total of \$1,594,486,263. The many lines of industry were revealed in the iron-works in Alabama, begun in Bibb and neighboring counties in 1830; the blast-furnaces near Nashville; the tobacco-factories at Richmond, most of the Virginia and North Carolina crop being manufactured at home; the bagging-mills at Louisville; the wooden-ware factory in Butler county, Ala.; the powder-mills at Wilmington, Del.; the shipbuilding in that town and in Baltimore, where car-shops and furnaces gave employment to many. Mobile had its iron and brass foundry, with profits of 25 per cent in 1845;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Virginia had in 1850 one hundred and twenty-one woollen establishments, two more than Massachusetts, the former State's large number resulting from the existence of many fulling establishments distinct from the mills. A table in the report on manufactures in the eighth census excludes the figures for carding, fulling, and worsted establishments from the woollen totals. As the distinction had not been so carefully made in the preceding censuses it has been thought best to use in the Appendix, for comparative purposes, the figures derived from the more general table published in the preliminary report of the census of 1860.

Florida, salt-works and cigar-factories; and Nashville, beside six cotton-factories, had quite a number of smaller industries. Kentucky, from hemp raised near the doors of the factory, manufactured nearly threefourths of the rope and bagging in the country.

South Carolina had shoe, coach, gun, and leather factories. At Petersburg, Richmond, Wheeling, and Wellsburg were factories forming part of the \$600,000,000 invested in industries and kindred enterprises in Virginia in 1850; and the Winter's Palace mills of Columbus, Ga., used in one year, in addition to the nearby supply, 10,000 bushels of corn brought from Baltimore, and was surrounded by saw and planing mills, sash-andblind factories, a paper-mill, and establishments for the manufacture of tubs, bedsteads, and other articles, wooden-ware works, and iron-foundries. At Natchez, in 1847, were 30 hands employed in an iron-foundry, 23 in brass-works, 4 or 5 in a gin-stand factory, 6 as gunsmiths, 8 or 10 in making ploughs, and others in a pottery. The trade of local merchants was worth \$1,119,806. In that year, besides 25 cotton-factories, North Carolina had 8 furnaces, 43 bloomeries, 2 papermills, 323 flour-mills, 2,033 grist-mills, 1,060 saw-mills, 17 distilleries, and 353 tanneries, while 5,000 hands were employed in the fisheries. From its forest were sent to Norfolk, through the canal, shingles, staves, and planks; and to Wilmington, immense quantities of turpentine and naval stores.

In 1852, at the fair of the South Carolina Institute, the exhibits included machinery of different kinds, coaches, saddles, and harness, hats, specimens of bookbinding, plumbing, and brickmaking. At intervals thereafter

plans were made for cotton-factories at Tellico, Tex., for a rolling-mill at Atlanta, for a hemp-factory at New Orleans, and for other undertakings marking the purpose to use capital for other purposes than planting.

To make an exact survey of twenty or thirty years of Southern industry is impossible. Except for a comparison of the two sections some of the figures of 1840 are unreliable. Many new schedules were introduced into the census compilation in that year, and the values of some products were manifestly overestimated. The changing of schedules or of terminology is also a factor of confusion. Thus in 1840 distinction was made only between cast iron and bar iron. The South produced 76,360 tons of the first, 26 per cent of the whole; and 30.382 tons of the second, 15 per cent of the whole. In 1850 there were schedules for pig-iron, cast iron, and wrought iron; and in 1860, for pig-iron and bar and other rolled iron. In the last year, though, was given a comparison of iron-founding in 1850 and 1860. Its value doubled in ten years in the South, and increased about 32 per cent in the North. The value in 1860 was \$5,780,-558 in the former, and \$22,766,098 in the latter section.

The South in 1850 produced 141,541 of the 563,755 tons of pig-iron made in the country, Maryland ranking third in the value of the product, and Virginia third in the number of establishments. By 1860 the output increased slightly; but the production of wrought iron had increased in the South and diminished in the North, and Virginia made nearly as much as Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C, Tables 4 and 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> No report in this schedule was made in 1860 for Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and the two Carolinas. Hence the apparently slight gain.

The percentage of increase in the South's production of machinery, which was raised in value from \$2,285,-212 in 1840 to \$2,609,843 in 1850, while that of the North was trebled, was greater than that of the North between 1850 and 1860. The same thing was true of lumber, flour, and meal. But the value of the South's production of furniture and salt was less in 1860 than in 1850; leather showed a slight increase, there being a decrease everywhere but in Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas. The proportionate increase in the fisheries was about the same as that in the North. and was less in the value of boots and shoes and of distilled liquors, New England and New York making all the rum, and New York the largest quantity of whiskey. While the value of the manufacture of agricultural implements increased 139 per cent in the South and 149 per cent in the North, the increase in 11 plantation States, notably Virginia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, was 101 per cent, and in all New England, 65 per cent.1

More than one-third of the increase in the value of the Southern production of agricultural implements was due to the manufacture of one machine connected with the handling of cotton. The South was long in the lead as a maker of cotton-gins. Encouraged by a Southerner, Eli Whitney invented his gin; and his services

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Included in the products of the South in 1860 were 35 locomotives in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, in a total of 470; car-wheels in Delaware; iron wire in Virginia; sewing-machines in Delaware and Kentucky; hardware in Maryland, Virginia, Louisiana, and Tennessee; and nails and spikes in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

were afterward held in such esteem as to lead to the suggestion that the cotton States should erect a monument of him. His plan was to control the use of his invention by building ginneries, and compelling the planters to sell the cotton in the fields. This was modified in the effort to sell the patent right to individual States, which was partly successful in the two Carolinas.

But Whitney was harassed from the outset of his venture. To prevent his idea from becoming public property, he and his partner, Durkee, placed his gin in a house, to which access was denied to everybody but women. Others wishing to observe the operations of the machine could view it through a grated window. But Georgia had a just claim to the title of "the Massachusetts of the South" for more reasons than one. Nathan Lyons, one of its citizens, disguised himself as a woman, and from that vantage-point studied the invention, and produced the saw-gin. Whitney's lack of success did not stop the manufacture of gins at the South.

One of the pioneers in that work was Daniel Pratt, a native of New Hampshire. After various experiences in the South, including an occupation as carpenter in Savannah, he moved to Alabama, and began there to manufacture gins on a small scale. Within a few years he had built up a trade in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas of 500 machines a year; and by 1847, when he was made a master of arts by the university of his adopted State, he had added to his original establishment saw, grist, flour, and cotton mills.

In 1860 all but 3 of the 55 gin-factories in the country, producing \$1,077,315 worth of goods, were in the

South; and Alabama had sustained its prestige, having 16 factories, with 178 hands, and an annual product of \$434,805.

The gin was the machine nearest to the cotton-field: but some men believed that advantage would be had in using on the plantation a simple machine for ginning, carding, and spinning the cotton into yarn. At it were to be employed the surplus hands in the comparative leisure of winter, or the slaves that were of little other use. A machine to meet this demand was invented by George G. Henry of Mobile, and was adopted by some planters. One man, who employed seventeen hands in that way, - only one of whom, a girl fourteen years old, was a first-class field-hand, - had 450 bales of cotton spun, his hands in the meantime grinding all the meal for the plantation, and crushing all the corn for cattle. By the time the invention had come into public notice, and had been recommended by a convention, surplus plantation labor was a constantly diminishing item.1

A partial index to the general difference between manufacturers at the North and at the South may, perhaps, be found in a study of a comparison of the cotton industry in Maine and in Maryland.<sup>2</sup> The two States had, in 1850, about the same number of inhabitants. The twelve factories in Maine represented

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Experiments with by-products of cotton, such as the manufacture of rope and yarn and paper from the fibre of the plant, did not amount to much, though great interest was taken in the statement of Dr. Edward J. Coxe of New Orleans, in 1854, that \$38,000,000 were thrown away every year in the seed that might be converted into soap, candles, and oil for table use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Appendix C, Table 6.

\$1,000,000 more capital than the twenty-four in Maryland. Maine's larger coal-bill helped to swell the cost of the raw material used, and the larger number of female operatives did not reduce its expenditure for wages, as both males and females received much more than those in Maryland. The greater cost of material and labor reduced the profits in Maine to a point below those in Maryland.

The average capital in the total industries in the South, the average wages, and the cost of raw material, were at all times smaller than in the North. While the percentage of profits was apparently greater in 1850 in the South, it declined during the next ten years with the advance of wages, and in 1860 was nearer the percentage of Northern ones, that had advanced in all items since 1850.

Among the total industries have been included mining and the fisheries, in both of which the North led in 1860. The value of the fisheries, \$13,768,229, in the North, and \$516,176 in the South, represented a ratio that had prevailed ever since the whale fisheries had been followed by New England, for shad and ovsters were the chief cargoes of the Southern fishingcraft. The values of manufactures at the North represented much raw material brought from the South, such as lumber, leather, and cotton, and also repeated turnings-over of the same material in different forms. would be difficult to estimate the addition to the values due to the value of raw material originating in the South; but it is obvious that more should be subtracted from the values of Northern products on that account than from those of Southern ones.

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Southern industries were more generally confined to the handling of raw material, they were less diversified than Northern ones; but what had been accomplished by 1860 gave promise of an industrial future in which many deeply rooted prejudices would be abolished, and many supposed axioms would be obliterated, and the South would find a great enhancement of wealth in the equal development of all its great resources.

# CHAPTER IV.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

One of the most potent causes of the American Revolution was the commercial restriction placed upon the colonies by England. The policy of suppressing labor, except that having a bearing upon agriculture, of compelling the whole population to produce a few commodities, and to export the raw material to England, could not fail to scatter the inhabitants, to prevent the growth of towns, and to minimize the commercial spirit. But the last was not eradicated, and was in colonial times as strong in Charleston as in Boston. Commerce with the mother country was not very great. Imports were larger than exports; and their total amounted on an average to £2,379,000 a year between 1750 and 1760, and to £2,806,000 in the next ten years.

If there was any difference at that time between the two sections on the Atlantic coast, the colonies south of Pennsylvania had probably the larger commerce. But in 1790 they were about equal in that respect. The North, however, had begun to obtain the advantage that it never lost, and subsequent events only strengthened it, until New York took the place of Charleston as the half-way station on the journey of goods across the Atlantic.

Between 1790 and 1820 New York State supplanted Virginia as the leader in point of population, and contemporaneously assumed the greater commercial position. In 1769 Virginia imported \$4,255,800, and New York \$945,000 worth of goods. In 1791 Virginia exported \$3,000,000, and imported \$2,486,000; and New York exported \$2,500,000, and imported \$3,022,000. By 1830 the Virginia imports had dropped to \$405,000, while New York's were \$35,000,000; the exports of the former were \$4,700,000, and of the latter \$19,500,000. From that time there was but slight variation in the value of Virginia's commerce, but New York's imports and exports steadily increased.

In the period between 1830 and 1860 the imports exceeded the exports in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania; and the reverse was the case in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, while Maryland occupied a middle position. Two-thirds of the shipping built in 1857 was owned north of Maryland; in the same year, while the South supplied at least half of the exports, it handled less than one-seventh of the imports, and New York exported \$800,000 and Charleston \$880,000 worth of rice. These facts alone are sufficient to tell in which section trade and commerce predominated.

New York was first as an importing city in 1860, and had gradually obtained an advantage over New Orleans as an exporter; and the following figures for 1853-54

	EXPORTS.	THEYARTS.
Massachrenitte	\$20,438,304	\$48,363,788
New York	205,3371,730	159,457,563
Mineybund	111,7780,632	6,7187,7002
Verginia,	9,709,948	3,276,298
South Camillion	371,09850018	1,701,387
Louisiama	Wh301L302	34,420,034

will give a fair idea of the general conditions that prevailed after the South had lost its commercial opportunity.

Many factors contributed to the change that had occurred. In it were involved the questions of the expansion of the United States during forty years. Sevbert wrote in 1818, that "A view of the map of the United States will demonstrate why the States of Ohio. Kentucky, and Tennessee make the city of New Orleans their entrepot: why the produce of North Carolina passes through the ports of Virginia; and why New Jersey tends to swell the exports from Philadelphia and New York, - it is the course of our rivers which, in a great degree, determines the extent of the export trade of the several States. In thirty years, though, the commercial map of the country had been radically altered. For the direction of trade and commerce was dependent upon the development of lines of travel to the seaboard, after population had crossed the Alleghanies, when the canal and railroad superseded the stage-coach and pack-horse, and steam supplemented the wind, tide, and currents of the river and the sea.

When Louisiana was admitted to the Union, no one could have imagined that New Orleans was not to remain the key to the growing commerce of the Mississippi basin. The population of that territory increased from 200,000 in 1790 to 10,000,000 in 1846, with an annual trade of \$300,000,000, the descending being greater than the ascending portion. New Orleans started as early as 1812 to send a steamboat up the river, but it was not until 1817 that the regular round trips were

<sup>1</sup> Seybert's "Statistical Annals," 91.

made. About that time, though, New York was stretching out its hands toward the Lakes, and indirectly toward the upper part of the Mississippi valley. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 did much to enhance the position of that city as a commercial centre; and from that year until 1857 the tonnage of the port increased from 185,405 to 1,217,199, and the sum of the exports and imports from \$84,057,000 to \$346,939,000. This trade was not necessarily enlarged at much expense to New Orleans; but the success of the Erie enterprise was an incentive to other undertakings, such as the Chesapeake and Ohio and the James River and Kanawha Canals, and later the railways destined to unite the ocean and the Mississippi by iron bands, and to divert trade from the rivers and mountain trails.

In the South the hint was given by the old national pike extending from Baltimore toward Pittsburg, and by the Indian ways leading eastward to Augusta and Charleston instead of to the Gulf. Within a year of the incorporation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. which was to pierce the Alleghanies by 1853, Stephen Elliott of South Carolina advocated a steam railroad between Charleston and the West. In 1836 a convention at Knoxville planned the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad, a combination of Elliott's idea and that of General Leslie Coombs, who claimed to have been the first man to propose, in 1829, a railroad west of the Alleghanies. A horse railroad was in operation between Charleston and Savannah in Elliott's day, and at one time the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad in South Carolina was the longest in the world. One of the first locomotives constructed in the United States, if not the first, was purchased in 1830 for a South Carolina road. It was called the "Best Friend." After one year's use it was wrecked in an explosion caused by a negro's sitting on the safety-valve, because he objected to the sound of the hissing steam.

It was the misfortune of the South that in more than one form the negro, voluntarily or involuntarily, was placed upon the safety-valve of the engine of progress.

Many were the special railroad conventions held in Richmond, New Orleans, and other cities. The experience of New England was made an example of the advantages to be derived from railroads. States lent their aid to various projects; up to 1851 Virginia having invested \$8,000,000, Georgia \$3,500,000, Maryland \$5,050,000, and Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina, Delaware, Missouri, and South Carolina having been liberal in that direction after most of the Northern States had forbidden such investments by the State. Citizens of Charleston pledged \$500,000 of the credit of the city to the construction of a road from Chattanooga to Nashville. By 1850 the Western and Atlantic Road, connecting Chattanooga with Savannah and Charleston, was in operation; and it was believed that that line was the cause of New Orleans' losing 12.6 per cent of the year's cotton-crop in 1851, and of a gain of 12.8 per cent for Savannah and Charleston. In 1846 Atlanta, born of the railroad, was the centre of several projected routes; and Mobile was agitating the subject of a railroad reaching to the north-west. A few years later St. Louis had begun to substitute the locomotive for the trading caravan along the Santa Fé trail.

These movements lent special significance to the gath-

ering in New Orleans in January, 1852, of the Southern and Western Railroad Convention, with its plan for a railroad from Vicksburg to Texas, and for a system in Arkansas. Four years before it had been urged that a road could easily be constructed from Batesville to a point opposite Memphis, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, passing through excellent timber lands, as level for ninety miles as a street in New Orleans. But the fear was expressed that it would be a long time before anything would be done. One of the difficulties was mentioned in 1852 by John Martin, who said that Arkansas had been admitted prematurely into the Union, before it had a basis of wealth and population upon which to raise sufficient revenue to support the local government.

Realizing that the river could not rival the railroad, property-holders of New Orleans voted in the same year \$3,500,000 for railroad purposes. One line was to reach to Nashville and the Ohio, and the other to Texas. In the next year the Great Northern Road was under construction, with a subscription of \$1,600,000 from the State of Louisiana, of \$2,000,000 from the city of New Orleans, of \$617.750 from individuals, of \$200,000 from the contractors, and of \$717,600 from six counties in Mississippi. By August, 1854, eighty-eight miles were completed to the Mississippi line, and in the next year twenty-eight more miles were built. Maryland had already cut through the mountains; and Virginia was working in the same direction, and was also reaching out toward Memphis by the Virginia and Tennessee route. By 1858 that link was completed, and Charleston was also connected with the Mississippi.

Public men and private individuals felt the necessity for such internal improvements. Governor Manning, of South Carolina, advised in 1853 an appropriation of \$1,000,000 by the legislature as a judicious expenditure, even if the stock of the roads never paid a dollar dividend. Governor Pease, of Texas, suggested two plans. One was, that the State should devote the proceeds of the sales of its public lands to the construction of railroads to be owned by the State, so as to keep the rates of transportation and travel at the lowest point. The other was, that the State should furnish the necessary iron, and should take a mortgage on the roads for security, or that it should subscribe to one-half of the capital stock.

Individuals, States, and other civil organizations came forward with money and lands to advance the work, and efforts were made to reduce the duty on railroad iron. Statistics were set forth showing to what extent real estate values had advanced where railroads had been constructed, in Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, and Kentucky. Lieutenant Maury calculated in 1856, that in fifteen years, through the agency of railroads, the value of goods distributed from Charleston into the back country had increased from \$5,000,000 to \$30,000,000

1 One table gave the following comparative figures: -

	REAL ESTATE VALUE 1850.	EXPENDED ON RAILROADS.	REAL ESTATE VALUE.		
Missouri .		\$ 66,802,223	\$30,871,363	\$235,892,792.	(1858.)
Texas		28,149,671	5,000,000	86,539,306.	(1856.)
Kentucky		177,013,407	13,314,059	270,960,818.	(1859.)
Arkansas		17,372,524	7,978,298	141,747,536.	(1857.)
Tennessee		107,981,793	26,337,427	166,417,907.	(1856.)
Virginia .		252,105,824	42,607,674	374,989,888.	(1859.)

annually. Not content with setting afoot schemes for gridironing the Southern States by railroads, the men of that section had also a plan for reaching the Pacific, in opposition to that of Asa Whitney. The southern route for the Pacific, mirrored in the proposed Atlantic and Pacific Road from Charleston to Mazatlan, and advocated in several conventions, was favored by Jefferson Davis, when he was secretary of war, and received an indorsement in one of Buchanan's messages. New Orleans saw for a time an opportunity to substitute Mexican and Pacific trade for that of the upper Mississippi valley in a road to California.

The Southern railroad movement was but a part of the national one, that increased the number of miles in operation from three in 1828 to 8,589.79 in 1850, and that culminated in the Western boom and the crash of 1857. By 1844 Georgia had 426 miles in operation, one road of 1911 miles being the longest in the South, Maryland had 3061 miles; Virginia, 290; North Carolina, 2451; South Carolina, 212; and Delaware, 16 miles, in operation. In 1850 the South had 1,796.17 of the 8,589.79 miles in the country, and in 1860, 10,851.27 of the 30,793.67 miles. The cost of constructing those in the South was \$325,526,332, and those in the rest of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These figures, taken from the census of 1880, are somewhat less than those given in the Railroad Journal for that year. That publication allotted 3,804.9 miles to the six New England States; 8,264.6 miles to three middle States; 9,891.9 miles to the fifteen Southern States; 9,442.9 miles to seven States north and west of the Ohio; and 22.5 miles to two Pacific States—a total of 31,426.8 miles. Since 1855, according to the same authority, the greatest increase had taken place in the South and West; and Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee had led in their section.

the country, \$826,034,497, a lower rate per mile in the South. But the cost of roads in the West increased the rate per mile in the free States. Rates of transportation for passengers and freight were generally higher in the South, and improvements for the convenience of travellers were not adopted promptly. In 1849 eight days were required to journey by rail from New York to New Orleans, one disagreeable feature of the trip being the necessary steamboat interruption of 150 miles between Wilmington, N.C., and Charleston. Connections with intersecting roads were not close, and there was much transferring of passengers and baggage. Freight between the two cities was sent by coasting packets, a distance of 2,500 miles, until the opening of the Illinois Canal drew it up the Mississippi and to New York by the Lakes, a longer journey, but more comforttable and not more expensive.1

During the era of early railroad extension, the collision of trains excited as much attention as had formerly the steamboat explosions. Between 1830 and 1849 nearly two hundred steamers were lost through explosions; and in one year there were 59 accidents, resulting in the loss of 245 lives, and of \$590,000 worth of property. During the four years preceding 1844,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Following are some of the passenger rates on different roads in 1848. Boston to Portland, 2.85 cents a mile; New York to Philadelphia, 4.54 by one route, 3.33 by another; Baltimore to Cumberland, 3.91; Baltimore to Washington, 4; Baltimore to Susquehanna, 3; Washington to Richmond, including porterage, 4.13; Augusta to Atlanta, 4; on the Western and Atlantic, 5 cents, and on the Vicksburg and Jackson, 6 cents a mile. The cost for freight varied from 1.182 a ton per mile on the Baltimore and Ohio to 1.679 on the Central of Georgia in 1849.

225 steamers were lost. In 1850, 119 boats and 320 lives were lost; and in the next year, 109 boats and 454 lives were lost in disasters on the rivers draining into the Gulf. In 1852, in the State of New York alone, 86 persons were killed and 171 were injured in railroad accidents; in the first six months of 1853, in 65 accidents in the country, 177 persons were killed, and 333 were wounded; and in 1855, in 142 accidents, 116 were killed and 530 were wounded; while in 27 steamboat disasters, 176 were killed and 107 were wounded.

The South was anxious for that adjunct to trade, the telegraph, first tested successfully on Southern soil; but in 1846 it was feared that those financially interested would delay sending an agent to push its extension until the completion of lines between New York and Boston and Philadelphia had demonstrated the practical working of the system for long distances. But in the next year the South had 120 miles of the 2,690 in operation; and \$275,000 in stock had been taken by Southerners for a line connecting Washington and New Orleans by way of Richmond, Petersburg, Raleigh, Fayetteville, Camden, Columbia, Charleston, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Montgomery, and Mobile, while another line to Cincinnati was projected.

The history of the telegraph in the South is similar to that of the railroad. Until the boom was developed, the railroads of the North were built to meet the demand of a rapidly increasing population for transportation facilities. In the South such was not exactly the case. It was often expected that the railroad would be a creator instead of a creature.

Into the problem, too, entered the item of capital, the

lack of which was felt, in spite of the liberality of States and the enterprise of some individuals. From the formation of the Union until the war, the North had a constantly increasing power of freer capital. This was in a measure due to the disbursements of the Federal government. The earliest of these were the bounties, originating in 1789, upon fishing-vessels and the fisheries. both peculiar to New England. They made Boston the principal fish-distributing centre in the country, and Gloucester the third New England seaport in commercial importance. The drawback on salt imported, the bounties on fish exported, and the duties on fish imported, the bounty of from \$1 to \$2.50 a ton on fishingvessels, were appreciated by the section that had at an early day turned its attention to the wealth of the sea. The money spent in bounties on vessels up to 1860 amounted to \$12,994,998, of which Massachusetts received \$7,926,273, Maine \$4,175,050, and the South hardly anything. The imposition of tonnage duties resulting in a diminution of foreign bottoms, the discount on merchandise imported in native vessels, and the bonus to fishing-vessels, were creations of the same year, and were intended, not only to encourage the commercial spirit, but to build up a native marine.

An impetus was given to the shipbuilding trade, and here New England had the advantage of longer occupation. Shipbuilding meant an aggregation of population and capital engaged in many lines; and when the navy-yards of the government were opened, the importance of the Northern seaboard, already apparent in commerce and population, was undoubtedly the reason for the greater number of yards being placed in that region.

In 1854, of the seven yards in the United States, six were between Virginia and Maine; and the only one between the mouth of the Chesapeake and the Sabine River was at Pensacola, used for the repair of vessels. In 1840 the vessels of the navy comprised 11 ships of the line, 14 frigates, 21 sloops, 4 brigs, and 8 schooners. Of these but 15 had been built in the South, and 6 of them were sloops.

The capital for such undertakings was at the North, and had been there before the Revolution. shown by the fact that when the public debt was paid, citizens north of the Potomac, particularly residents of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, received the greater share. To be sure, the speculation by Northern capitalists in the debt at the time when its funding was first advocated had tended to move the debt from the South; but Philadelphia and New York were the financial centres of the Revolution.1 That fact caused the Bank to be established in the North; and the existence of the Bank undoubtedly strengthened the flow of money to its section, making the rest of the country tributary to it. The suppression of the Bank, and the scattering of deposits through the country, came too late to overcome the original advantage acquired by the North.

That section secured the larger amount of funds for internal improvements. From 1790 to 1845 the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1803, of the public debt, 4,199 citizens of Massachusetts owned \$11,537,080; of New York, 2,204 citizens owned \$11,732,-132; of Pennsylvania, 2,746 citizens owned \$12,854,712; of Maryland, 157 citizens owned \$1,023,217; and of South Carolina, 727 citizens owned \$2,767,204.

government expended in that way \$17,199,223. Of this, \$4,816,172 went to separate States of the South; \$1,901,228 jointly to Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; \$1,698,000 to States through which the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Arkansas Rivers flow; \$8,783,823 to separate Northern States, New York receiving \$2,632,115.

This difference in appropriations was attributed to a purpose on the part of the general government to enrich one section at the expense of another; and complaint was made that the South was given just enough patronage to enable it to originate projects that were bound to be abandoned for want of proper support. That was a view that held the general government to be some intangible object almost separate from the South, and which viewed the benefits derived from it as the fruits of a contest between the North and the South, in which the former, as in the instance of subsidies given steamship lines, managed to gain the precedence. Men of the North, though, were not accustomed to permit theories of the proper relations of the general government to the State or to individuals to interfere with their practical business plans; and internal improvements were more urgently needed there because of existing conditions, instead of being regarded as producers of conditions.

There was all the difference possible between organizing a steamship line and securing a subsidy, and talking of a subsidy as a preliminary to such an enterprise. A rapidly developing commerce was a more effective argument for harbor improvements and defensive works than the plea that such improvements would revive commerce

or advance it. The statement that a protective tariff led to the decline of the commerce of Charleston lost a little force when the progress made by Baltimore was considered. Discrimination may have been made against the South; but the germs of it were propagated under the administrations of Southerners, and their logical growths were little stunted in later years by the presence of Southern men in executive positions, or in the influential office of speaker of the House.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two opinions on this point were expressed within a few years of each other. In 1851 General Charles T. James, just elected a Senator from Rhode Island, and a man friendly to the South, wrote, "Why does the South on the absorbing question of the day have to submit to the dictum of the North and West? Only because they have gained such a tremendous start in the industrial race, thereby drawing immense masses of wealth and population from every point of the compass, while the South has been content to enrich the North with the fruit of her labors, and to offer no inducements for the prosecution of manufactures and mechanical industries."

The people of the South were even at the Revolution different in many respects from those of the North. Some points of later divergence, and the explanation of them, were thus set forth by Forsyth in 1854. "It must be admitted," he said, "that the people of the North are in advance of those of the South, in public spirit and enterprise, and in all those physical achievements to which associate labor and capital are essential. The South on the other hand, claims equality, if not precedence, in the republic of morals and intellect, in freedom from crime, in freedom from pauperism, and from that most fearful of God's judgments on man and the immediate fruit of pauperism and crime, - insanity. . . . The superior development of the North, then, has a very easy solution. The necessities of geographical position, soil, and climate demanding extraordinary enterprise and energy; that enterprise taking naturally the enriching direction of commerce, and having possession and control of the purse-strings of the government,

Many of the disadvantages of the South are traceable to the compromises of the Constitution. They were such as to give the North a steady increase in power of population and ready capital, notwithstanding its natural impediments. Compelled to resort to devices to overcome these, the North was aided by an increase of its representation in Congress, which made it more and more impossible for the South to interrupt its plans for expansion involving the direct aid of the general government. By losing no chance to secure this, and by being ever ready to make the most of a good or bad situation, the North was able practically to monopolize native commerce, and to lead trade through its own gates.

This led to another distribution of government funds to its special benefit. Where there were imports, there custom-houses had to stand, with their many employees. Edmund Burke of New Hampshire, discussing this phase of the subject, calculated that in the sixty years since the adoption of the Constitution the North had received \$43,000,000 of the \$53,000,000 expended in this way. He also estimated that of the \$102,000,000 expended by the government in four years, the North received \$65,000,000. Another calculator said that eight-tenths of the disbursements of the government went to the North, and that two-thirds of the revenues from customs were derived from goods imported in exchange for Southern products. Preston Brooks calculated that in 1852 the South produced two-thirds of the exports,

while the Southern people were contented with its honors, their whole system of prosperity has been swollen by the vast stream of treasure which the government coffers have poured out upon it." [De Bow's Review, x. 682; xvii. 374.]

and collected but one-ninth of the duties on imports, four-fifths of which were expended in non-slaveholding States.

Whatever may be the correctness of these estimates, the fact is that the official participation in commerce inured to the benefit of the North.

The South shared in the results of the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank in 1833-1834. Banks in Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Raleigh, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Mobile, New Orleans, Louisville, Nashville, St. Louis, and Natchez were among the thirty-six depositories selected by 1836.1 The speculation in lands that followed, the inflation of currency, the increase in the number of banks adding their paper to the bloated fund, and the wild extravagance that prevailed, were not confined to any section. Mississippi banks of that period acted as cotton factors. In Florida, still a Territory, the Union Bank was incorporated with a capital of \$300,000; derived from the sale of territorial bonds; and the lands and slaves of its stockholders were hypothecated as security. Louisiana lent its credit to banking corporations whose capital stock was secured by mortgages upon real estate. In 1836, a short time before the crash, of 677 banks with 146 branches in the United States, 155 with 121 branches were in the South; and the speculation in Western lands and Eastern real estate in cities had a counterpart in Mobile, where, with slight changes in population, the value of real estate was elevated from \$4,000,000 in 1834 to \$18,000,000 in 1837. The price

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On March 1, 1837, of 90 deposit banks and branches in the United States, 29 were in the South.

of cotton, too, rose rapidly from 11½ and 13½ cents in 1833 to 18 cents on January 15, and 20 cents on July 17, 1835.

The disasters of 1837 fell upon all the country; but in the subsequent collapse of 1839, following the second suspension of specie payments by the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, Southern banks were the chief sufferers. Of its 233 banks, 201 suspended entirely or partly, and 10 were broken. Of the 723 in the rest of the country, 204 suspended, and 46 were broken. By 1840, 48 banks in the North and 4 in the South had resumed business.

The relations of the State to the banks were disastrous in some instances for both, notably in Arkansas and in Mississippi, where was nursed, if not born, the idea of State repudiation of obligations. When in 1841 Governor McNutt suggested that the Union Bank be placed in liquidation, and that the bonds issued by the State as its working capital be repudiated as illegal, the legislature resolved that "the insinuation that the State of Mississippi would repudiate her bonds and violate her plighted faith is a calumny upon the justice, honor, and

<sup>4</sup> Dean's "Banks and Banking," 168; Sumner's "History of American Currency," 122, 136; Scott's "Repudiation of State Debts," 43-54; McCulloch's "Interest, Coins, and Banks," 194. Hildreth, in his "Banks and Banking," written after the crash, alleged that Southern bank managers had been mostly planters, and that they lent to planters. The customers borrowed money, not only in anticipation of crops, but also for permanent investment in lands or slaves, a dangerous practice. Subscribers to stock, too, instead of paying cash, gave mortgages on their land or slaves; and the banks would assign these mortgages to the State as security for loans contracted in foreign parts.

dignity of the State." But the next legislature deemed that the State was under no moral or legal obligations for the bonds.

The effects of the panic were partly seen in the constitutional legislation of Southern States. Texas in 1845, and Arkansas in 1846, prohibited banks. Louisiana in 1845 decreed that no corporate body should thereafter be created with banking or discount privileges; but in 1852 that provision of the Constitution was modified to the extent of providing that no aid should be given by the State to banks, but that they might be created with arrangements for the registry of all bills and notes, and ample security for specie redemption. Ten years before, though, a banking-law had been passed, which not only carried the banks of the State successfully through the panic of 1857, and made them rank second in the country in specie holdings in 1860, and fourth in amount of capital, but which contained features afterward embodied in the national bank act. Missouri provided in 1855 for the establishment of a definite number of banks upon a specie basis, and three or four States in the South adopted the New York free-banking principle with modifications.

Misfortunes of foreign countries and the good fortune of the United States after 1845 increased the facilities for banking, particularly between 1850 and 1860, and the South shared in the revival.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> North American Review, lviii. 109-157. A thorough study of this phase of financial history of the United States has been made by Dr. W. A. Scott, in his "Repudiation of State Debts."

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix D, Table 1. The census report of 1860 gave

Occasionally the statement was made that commerce and manufacturing were impeded by the inability or the unwillingness of some Southern banks to aid local enterprises. It was said, for example, that Richmond banks would discount drafts upon New York in preference to local paper. Of course this was because the exchange between the North and the South was in favor of the former, — as much as from seven to forty per cent, it was estimated, in 1838; but a Virginian who wrote to Governor Wise on the subject did not think that the immediate benefit to the banks equalled the ultimate loss to the community.

Citing the case of a manufacturing company compelled to draw upon its New York consignee, and thus to run the risk of being obliged to sell at a loss, he said, "Ruin of the company and loss to the city is thus clearly traced to the action of the banks, placing the whole manufacturing industry at the mercy of the New York acceptor. And all this is done for the purpose of making a little premium on exchanges, and because some of the old directors think this mode of banking is the only legitimate and safe mode, for no reason in the world except that it is the old accepted plan of banking. It is in vain to say that the banks refused to discount the home paper first offered in the case just cited for want of funds. This is disproved by the fact of their giving the company money upon the Northern drafts. The New York merchants advance nothing but their The money is advanced by the Richmond

no banks of issue to Arkansas and Mississippi between 1850 and 1860, and but two small ones to Florida; but, for a time at least, Mississippi had two institutions.

bank, and before the drafts become due the goods consigned are sold to meet them. The merchant in New York, with little or no capital, is thus enabled to carry on a large business; and, while lending his name as acceptor to one firm, he may be lending his name to hundreds and thousands scattered over the South, and thus, without advancing one cent, and by exercise of proper caution, he may become a large capitalist by means of credit given him by the banks of the Bouth."

Again, it was pointed out in 1850 that New Orleans had not sufficient banking capital to handle the produce that came to it. It was said that only \$10,000,000 were available to carry \$96,000,000 worth of produce; while New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with \$59,000,000 capital, shipped \$45,000,000 worth. The consequence was that men of the upper Mississippi could get better prices for their produce in New York, and, on the other hand, could be accommodated with longer-oredits for their purchases.

Conditions improved during the next few years for New Orleans and for other Southern cities. In 1855 Baltimore had 13 banks, with \$8,471,796 capital; Richmond 3, with \$2,114,000; Charleston 9, with \$10,736,735; Savannah 5, with \$3,041,190; and New Orleans 8, with \$14,702,600. At the same time Boston had 37 banks, with \$32,400,000 capital; New York 52, with \$48,482,900; and Philadelphia 15, with \$10,618,000.

A drawback upon trade was the comparative tightness of money in the South, shown by the high rates

<sup>3</sup> De Bloor a Direien, XX. THE.

of legal interest, and by the imperfect means in some localities of handling money.1

The condition of the mail system is a side illustration of the latter impediment. In 1847 the cost of transporting the mail in South Carolina was \$5.84 less per mile than in Massachusetts; in Delaware, \$9.77 less than in Rhode Island, but \$1.30 more than in Louisiana; in Virginia, \$2.67 more than in Pennsylvania, with 555 miles less of routes, but \$4.13 less than in New York, with 2,510 more miles. In North Carolina, with more than twice the length of routes, the cost was \$0.75 less per mile than in Massachusetts. Ten years later the receipts of the post-office department exceeded the expenditures in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, and Washington Territory. The deficit in the free States was \$195,714.47; in the Territories, \$179,467.75; and in the South, \$2,439,383.19.

Notes of the banks in one State were discounted in other States, the need of currency at times produced 'change notes, and shinplasters issued by manufacturing companies, business firms, and individuals; and one turnpike company organized a bank that was conducted successfully for a while solely upon credit, and its notes were promptly paid. In 1856, in a notice to persons intending to move to Texas, they were told that they would find it difficult to pass at par Alabama, Carolina,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Michigan and Wisconsin were the only free States in 1855 where the rate of interest was above 6 per cent. In South Carolina and Georgia it was 7; in Alabama and Texas, 8; and in California, 10. In special contracts New Jersey allowed 7 per cent.; Arkansas, 10; Illinois, 7 to 10; Iowa, 10; Louisiana, 8; Texas, 12; and Michigan, 10 per cent.

Ohio, or Georgia notes, in fact, any notes but those of New York or New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> Eastern bank-notes, as a rule, circulated more readily everywhere than Southern ones.

All these conditions, added to the practice of living upon crop promises, placed some planters at the mercy of the creditor class, both at home and at the North.

And when the planters suffered, local trade was affected and national commerce was checked. The crisis of 1857 was a great blow for the South. Born in the West as the result of speculation in lands and of investments in unprofitable railroad enterprises, the panic was communicated through New York to the rest of the country. Within thirty days fifteen railroad companies suspended or assigned, their liabilities aggregating \$181,700,000, the South's commercial relations were impaired, exchanges were embarrassed, and there was a sudden drop in the price of cotton. Of 14,136 firms in New York City, 268 failed for \$96,454,000; of 2,130 in Baltimore, 72 for \$4,119,000; of 9,284 in Virginia, 123 for \$1,927,000; of 3,413 in South Carolina, 65 for \$1,412,000; of 3,813 in Louisiana, 74 for \$7,213,000; while of 18,392 in Ohio, the kernel of the disturbance, 464 failed for \$5,737,000; and of 2,616 in Texas, 13 for \$377,000. An estimate of December, 1857, was to the effect that cotton-growers had within twenty days lost enough money to equip a line of magnificent steamers equal to any in the world, and capable of bearing off

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> They were told at the same time that the State had a surplus of lawyers and doctors, that it needed mechanics and teachers of the elements, and that there was no room for politicians.

the productions of the soil, and bringing in return everything that was desired by the South.

While the actual mercantile world was feeling the effects of a financial system that had made New York the great clearing-house for the country, some States suffered because of a lack of credit. This compelled them to depend upon native capital for the advancement of public works, the arteries of trade - a safe course, perhaps, but slow, and one that could not fail to depress enterprise. "Who of our section," asked James Robb in 1850, "can go North, or to Europe, and raise money on railroad stock?" Reviewing the situation, another Southerner wrote in 1853, "That the suicidal act of Mississippi killed the credit of the slave States in Europe does not admit of a doubt; and what has been the effect? Whilst the East has been borrowing from Europe since the eventful times of 1837 and 1843 hundreds of millions of dollars for its great internal works at fair rates, the South has been forced into inaction and liquidation by the suspension of capitalists here and abroad, though yielding the greatest power on earth, cotton." 1

Such may have been the condition of some portions of the South, and without doubt the precedent of Mississippi's repudiation may have been partly responsible for it; but there were several instances of a contrary nature. While Arkansas was passing the interest on its debt year after year, and Mississippi was entering upon a second chapter of repudiation in the case of the Planters' Bank, Maryland, which like Pennsylvania and other States of the North had defaulted interest after

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xi. 79; xv. 414.

the crash of 1837, re-established its credit by 1850; and Louisiana, with \$7,000,000 of its bonds held in Europe, made a sustained effort to regain its standing. Alabama was inspired by the same desire, and South Carolina's credit was healthy at the outbreak of the war. Virginia's finances were honorably administered; and in 1850, of the \$9,000,000 of public debt, \$2,700,000 were held in Great Britain, France, and Germany, and \$5,600,000 in the State. Its debt, like that of North Carolina, was the result of the extension of public works; while those of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas were due to credit lent to banks.

Questions of State credits and private capital must be considered in studying the commercial condition of the South, for they were intimately connected with home and foreign trade. In no other way may be understood why, when by the cultivation of the hope of political independence a realization of the importance of the carrying trade and its many ramifications was impressed upon the South, neither State resources nor private funds were forthcoming in amounts great enough to overcome the widening distance from the North in the commercial race.

Thoughtful Southerners had long foreseen the culmination of tendencies of half a century, and members of the early conventions had tried earnestly to persuade their fellows to correct them in time. But their task was a labor for Hercules. Various explanations were advanced in describing the plight of the South. One thinker had it that the South had slumbered over its commercial advantages, while the North had guarded its own with jealous eye. Another complained of "the

supineness with which we of the South have hitherto looked upon the efforts of our Northern brethren to draw away from our ports so large a part already of the produce of the Mississippi valley," and he declared that it should be stopped immediately. De Bow, whose Review was an outcome of a convention designed to build up the South, said that the purpose of his venture was to resuscitate the commercial spirit that in the true sense had been dead in the South for many years, and "to vindicate for this great section of the Union those rights upon the high seas which our extending foreign commerce will give." It was within his recollection "when something disreputable was attached at the South to the trade of merchandizing;" when the merchant class was regarded as an inferior one, that "would not suit the better order of families or their sons." That time, he thought, had passed, and he deemed it inexplicable upon any sound principle of political economy that the South should be dependent upon the North for its imports. This condition, humiliating to him, he traced, not to a lack of capital, but to the absence of enterprise; and in 1851, when he was evidently in a similar frame of mind, he wrote. "The truth is, it is impossible to rouse the Southern people on any subject whatever of enterprise; and the sooner we admit it, and ground our arms, the better." 1

Lieutenant Maury, resourceful in technical knowledge, and interested in everything that could benefit the South, traced the decline of the commerce of Charleston to the improvement in the keels of sailing-vessels that enabled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, iii. 97, 107; iv. 209; xii. 119; Southern Literary Messenger, v. 3.

them to beat over against the Gulf Stream and the prevailing westerly winds, and consequently to shorten the journey from England. This, he contended, caused Charleston to be neglected for New York.<sup>1</sup> But he recognized in the "Liners," the swift packet-ships of Jeremiah Thompson and Isaac Wight of New York, started in 1816, and in the application of steam to ocean navigation, the readiness of Northerners to add to an advantage.

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic sailed from Savannah in 1819. Yet a forecast of what steam navigation would be might have been based upon the fact that the vessel had been built in New York, and that her commander was a Connecticut man. The confirmation would have been had in the arrival, not at Charleston or Savannah, but at New York, in April, 1838, of the steam-packets Great Western and Sirius from Great Britain.

The forecast would have been, that the South, possessed of what may be termed the greater commercial

<sup>1</sup> The cessation of the slave-trade with the United States must be taken into the account of the diminution of the commerce of at least one Southern State. Between 1804 and December 31, 1807, 202 vessels in the slave-trade came to Charleston. Natives of Charleston owned 61; of New England, 63; of Baltimore, 4; of Sweden, 1; of Great Britain, 70; and of France, 3. Their living cargoes were consigned to 13 Charlestonians, 88 Rhode Islanders, 91 English, and 10 Frenchmen. Vessels of Great Britain brought 19,649 slaves; of France, 1,078; of the Northern States, 14,905; and of the Southern States, 3,443. After 1808 Southern investment in the foreign slave-trade declined; and in 1850 of 40 American vessels carrying slaves to Brazil, 19 were from Massachusetts, 12 from New York, 5 from Florida, and 4 from Maryland.

potentiality, was to depend upon the maritime enterprise of another section for its export trade, and to a greater extent for its imports. This had been decided before 1819 in the concentration of so much energy upon agriculture, and in the natural growth of a disinclination to change the form of investments. To the statement that successful merchants, after making \$50,000 or \$100,000, would retire, and invest their gains in plantations or stocks, was added, though, the complaint of the removal of capital to Northern ports. But the planters were content to supply the material for commerce, and to let others handle it. Northerners, not satisfied with the scant returns from agriculture, took to the sea and the counting-house, and found profit in being middlemen.

Such was the case in colonial days; and the distinction between the North and the South was even then drawn. While two-eighths of the tonnage of New England before the Revolution was owned by Englishmen, and six-eighths by natives, seven-eighths of the tonnage of five Southern colonies belonged to Englishmen, and oneeighth to natives. In Maryland and Virginia one-eighth of the tonnage was owned by Englishmen occasionally resident in them; in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, two-eighths; and in New England, one-eighth; while in the middle colonies, ownership was more nearly balanced between natives and Englishmen. years later the North had taken the place of Great Britain as the carrier of Southern products, though at that time there was a revival of interest in shipping in the South, and American shipping had not regained its relative rank lost in the disturbances of the early part of the century. In 1850 the tonnage of vessels cleared in the

North was 2,121,100 American, and 1,297,282 foreign; and in the South, 511,588 American, and 429,964 foreign. Of vessels owned by Americans, the South had 743,805 tonnage, an increase of 249,008 tons in two years; and the North 2,791,649, an increase of 133,405 tons.

In 1790-1791, Massachusetts exported \$2,519,651 worth of goods; New York, \$2,505,465; Pennsylvania, \$3,436,093; Maryland, \$2,239,691; Virginia, \$3,131,845; and South Carolina, \$2,693,268. Within ten years New York had distanced Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and the individual Southern States just mentioned; and within twenty years Maryland had exports as valuable as those of Virginia and South Carolina combined. In 1815-1816 New York again was far in advance of the other States; South Carolina showed a tendency to regain its old position of equality with Maryland and Virginia, and the second of those neighboring States was ahead of the first.

Two other manifestations of that period were noteworthy. The North had begun to make the South the basis for its exports, brought coastwise to its ports. In 1810, of the \$1,907,334 exported from Boston, \$911,241 represented cotton, \$214,718, rice; \$169,250, tobacco; \$36,966, tar; \$19,189, turpentine; \$8,527, pitch; and \$5,402, rosin,—articles of Southern origin. More significant was the disparity in the value of imports. The custom-house duties amounted between 1801 and 1810 to \$38,548,926.54 in New York, \$26,330,069.98 in Massachusetts, \$9,993,954.44 in Maryland, and in South Carolina, \$6,267,131.24. The North had gained the foreign commerce of the country, and had become the

leader in home trade. Thirty years afterward, of 1,408 houses in the foreign trade, the South had but 293; and the inauguration of the warehousing system, that gave increased facilities to importers of St. Louis, Louisville, and other inland cities, failed to improve affairs appreciably. At one time coffee used in Southern ports was imported through the North; but after a while Virginia began to import the article, with others, from South America, in exchange for flour sent direct instead of through Northern houses.

In 1851 Virginia had 565 miles of railroads, 418 miles of canals, and 220 miles of plank-roads, a means of communication that was expected to add to trade facilities; but Richmond saw the produce of the western section of the State drawn into Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Savannah. Virginia's position was typical of that of the whole South in its efforts to keep step with the railroad energy of the North as it changed the commercial map.

Among some persons was a disposition to recall the experience of Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Greece, and Rome, as encouragement of efforts to build up a commerce for the South. But times had changed since those nations had waxed great in trade. They had given place to the Englishman, the Dutchman, and the German, men of northern stock, obliged, just as was the New England race, to exercise their faculties in other pursuits than tilling the soil. The laws that had given England supremacy in commerce and finance were effective in the case of the North.

To secure a position that it had hardly occupied since the Revolution, that is, to gain the ability to handle not only the raw material sent abroad, but also the finished goods brought back, the South entered upon a campaign for direct trade. In 1839 it had progressed to the stage of a call by a leading magazine for subscriptions to the stock of the Southern Atlantic Steam Navigation Company; but nearly twenty years later the scheme was only beginning to become practical in the incorporation by the Virginia legislature of the Atlantic Steam Ferry Company on March 15, 1858.

Among the schemes for direct trade with Europe, by which the ports of the farther South, New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, and Richmond, might become, it was thought, rivals of Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, was the Atlantic Steam Navigation Company, the stock necessary for its organization being subscribed in a short time at Charleston in 1850: the Virginia line of steamers to Antwerp, Liverpool, and South American ports; the proposition that Virginia should pay \$25,000 per voyage to the Franco-American Company, which was to make monthly trips from Havre to American ports; the suggestion of a government subsidy for mail-steamers between Hampton Roads and Europe; and the publication of the prospectus of a company that was to run six iron screw-steamers between New Orleans and Liverpool. Accompanying them was another plan, the connection of Southern ports by regular steamship lines; but the confession was made in 1856 that up to that time such attempts had signally failed, though it was another story when the purpose was to bring the North into direct communication with the South. The great interest of the South in the schemes for crossing the Central American isthmus

was nourished by the hope that the importance of Southern ports as centres of trade would thereby be enhanced.

Robert Toombs wrote to a convention in 1856 suggesting that for the encouragement of direct trade the States should lay a tax upon all articles not directly imported, high enough to prevent indirect importation and to secure a revenue without the imposition of a capitation or other direct tax. The Southern Rights Association of Virginia called for bounties for direct importations, and a similar wish was expressed in Louisiana. Agitation of the subject resulted in a modification of the laws affecting trade in Virginia, and in 1859 the merchants of Richmond resolved to import directly from Europe as extensively as possible. Alabama passed a law exempting from taxation goods directly imported.

To exempt all direct imports from local taxation, to lay a tax of from 5 to 10 per cent on all wares not made in the State and offered for sale there, were suggestions combining efforts to build up an import trade and a spirit of retaliation upon the North.

Contemporaneously with the advocacy of government subsidies for lines of steamships, which was combated, and of government aid in securing from England a reduction of the duty on tobacco, an agitation was made for the abolition of all bounties and the tariff. But the latter represented an extreme view that was not held by anything like a majority in the South, and which involved a continuation of that political discussion and party feeling which had kept the South divided against itself.

Merchants and planters, disregarding the lesson of 1837, thought to advance domestic trade by combinations to control the price of cotton, so as to make them independent of Liverpool and New York. Organizations of planters were formed to collect timely information of the state of crops, that they might act the more intelligently in marketing them; but a Mississippian, in suggesting a Planters' Chamber of Commerce, to be composed of the commission merchants of New Orleans, Mobile, Augusta, Charleston, and Savannah, acting in concert with the aid of the telegraph, contended that planters were too scattered to act promptly together.

Repeal of all usury laws, and legislation requiring all bonds issued by a State or in a State to be redeemable within the State, were other minor ideas connected with aspirations for independence in trade.

There was, however, much truth in the assertion that the colonial spirit still existed in the South, the result of habit and indifference. One writer believed that posterity would regard as an inexplicable anomaly the condition of the South "in paying bounties and premiums which, if enforced by authority, would put every Southern man in armor to his teeth."

This condition may be illustrated by an estimate of 1853 of the relation of the South to domestic trade and industry. The value of cotton exported was \$109,456,404; of rice, \$1,657,658; of sugar, \$427,216; of tobacco, \$11,319,723,—a total of \$122,861,001. The value of cotton reserved for use in this country was \$18,543,596; of rice, \$7,092,342; of sugar, \$36,472,784; of tobacco, \$8,580,681,—a total of \$70,689,403. In 1860 it was calculated that the South spent \$240,000;000 for domes-

tic goods from the North; \$106,000,000 for goods imported through the same region; \$63,000,000 for interest brokerage, and freight; and \$53,000,000 in travel without its own borders.

The Boston Post was authority for the statement in 1859 that New England alone sold \$60,000,000 worth of merchandise to the South in return for \$50,000,000 worth of raw material; and that Boston received from the South \$22,000,000 worth of cotton, \$2,500,000 of tobacco, \$2,500,000 of flour, \$1,200,000 of corn, \$1,000,-000 each of wool, hides, and lumber, and \$500,000 of rice. A Southern magazine acknowledged in 1851 that, with cabinetmakers, artisans in wood and iron, makers of every article of clothing as skilful as any in the world and as anxious for employment, Virginia paid out annually \$20,000,000 for goods which it could manufacture itself. One Richmond house spent \$100,000 in 1850 for shoes from the North; and the Southern Planter estimated that in that year Virginia paid \$500,-000 for Northern brooms, and also bought many apples and much hay. The shipment of ice from Boston, begun in the early part of the century, grew from 40,125 tons in 1848 for the South, to 110,000 tons in 1854.

Though these figures tell of the dependence of the two sections upon each other in trade and commerce, they by no means imply that the South was entirely bereft of enterprise in either particular.

St. Louis, increasing in population from 5,852 in 1830 to 40,000 in 1845, and battling against such a combination of ills in 1849 as cholera, — that postponed a convention at Memphis, — a flood in the Mississippi, and fires causing a loss of \$3,000,000, was the centre of a

large wholesale trade for the Southwest and the Northwest, and rapidly substituted steam- for horse-power as a carrier of its goods. Louisville, more than doubling its population in ten years, was not only, in 1850, the tobacco market for part of Virginia, Western New York, Western Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan, but had twenty-five dry-goods houses doing a wholesale trade of \$5,000,000 annually with Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Illinois, and Arkansas, and thirty-nine wholesale houses selling annually \$11,000,000 worth of drugs, hardware, saddlery, queensware, and groceries.

Nashville, with a population in 1845 of 12,693, of whom 5,156 were slaves, had 164 professional men, 508 merchants, 722 mechanics, and 400 persons engaged in navigation. Charleston and Savannah, rivals in 1849 for the trade of Northern Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee; Mobile, endeavoring to maintain its trade in the State; Atlanta, growing from terminus into an important railroad centre in fifteen years, were other centres.

New Orleans received in 1845 from the interior produce valued at \$57,199,122. This included apples, bacon, bagging, rope, beans, butter, beeswax, beef, buffalo-robes, cotton, corn, coal, cider, feathers, fur, pigiron, lard, lead, molasses, pork, potatoes, sugar, tobacco, and wheat. Among its exports of that year were 984,616 pounds of cotton, 68,679 hogsheads of tobacco, 104,401 hogsheads of sugar, and 17,094 hogsheads of molasses. In 1845–1846 the net revenue at the customhouse, in the building of which \$2,500,000 were expended before 1859, was \$1,014,974.62, and from 1801 to 1847 it was \$32,968,569.48. The unhealthfulness of

the surroundings of the city, the need of wholesome municipal regulations, the halting support given to works of public improvement by men of wealth, the fact that commerce was largely in the hands of agents and factors who did not make their home there, the absenteeism of many families during part of the year, the multiplication of municipal offices, the high wharfage fees and port charges, and the anxiety of capitalists to put their money into banking instead of into railroads, were the suggested explanations of the failure of New Orleans to make the best of trade opportunities not affected by the tentacles of New York.

Other drains upon the city's natural territory were made by its neighbors. Charleston, one of these, was described in 1846 as awakening from a long sleep. "Sensible of the wrongs it has inflicted on its own head," wrote the critic, "this city of other days ex-

1 Statistics upon which to base a comparison of the healthfulness of cities North and South at that time are not available. Estimates of Drs. Barton and Simonds in 1850 gave Boston an annual percentage of 2.22 for 1830-1845; New York, 2.87 for 1841-1848; Charleston, 2.49 for 1822-1848; and New Orleans, 6.66 for 1847-1849. Other figures in 1851 for various periods gave Boston 2.45 per cent; Lowell, 2.11; New York, 2.96; Philadelphia. 2.55; Baltimore, 2.49; Charleston, 2.57; Savannah, 4.16; and New Orleans, 8.10. Yellow fever increased the percentage in New Orleans. It prevailed in that city every year from 1822 to 1853, and was epidemic thirteen times in that period. From May 28 to Oct. 15, 1853, there were 8,220 deaths in the city. That epidemic gave an opportunity for a signal display of sympathy from other cities. Of the \$218,798 contributed through the Howard Association for the sufferers, New York gave \$52,585; New Orleans, \$38,500; Philadelphia, \$20,111; Cincinnati, \$14,000; Charleston, \$10.840; Baltimore, \$10,675; and Boston, \$10,500.

hibits the occasional spasms of a disturbed conscience. With inward groanings it rouses itself, as it were, for a giant struggle, and for the sure triumph which such a struggle must of necessity secure; but then, as the arm is uplifted, the palsy descends upon it, the nerve departs, the blow stays, and the hour of high and noble resolve has passed."1 The revenues of the port declined after 1800, but amounted to \$497,000 in 1844; and the diminution of its commercial importance thus evidenced was ascribed to a lack of enterprise in its commercial class, the absence of stimulants to adventure, and to its being the metropolis of an agricultural Enterprise, however, was not lacking at all times. In 1838 a fire destroyed 1,200 houses in onethird of the city, and caused a loss of \$4,000,000. That was certainly enough to discourage any community; but Charleston went to work vigorously, and in six years had restored itself with improved houses, and its railroad connections had given it a better control of the interior, and had brought to its doors cotton, that otherwise might have gone down the Mississippi. The tonnage of the port had decreased from 51,212 in 1800 to 21,148 in 1843; but in six more years it increased to 28,659, the ocean class making a greater advance than the coasting. Five years later the city had 64 vessels of 150 tons burden or more, an increase in vessels of that class of 40 per cent in two years. In 1824 the exports amounted to \$7,143,831, and the imports to \$2,030,916; in 1844 the exports to \$7,433,282, and the imports to \$1,131,515; and in 1848 the exports to \$8,081,917, and the imports to \$1,485,299, yielding

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, ii. 408.

\$192,532 less duty than those of 1844. These figures indicate a slight gain in the city's commerce after 1840; and the election of Hunt of the North and De Bow of the South as honorary members of the Mercantile Association, and the successful efforts to have a new custom-house built and the harbor improved, were tokens of the existence of an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from a mercantile life.

Baltimore had, in the meantime, a somewhat different history. Its export commerce was at times less than that of Charleston, but the closer approach of imports to exports showed that it was more healthy. In 1849 its exports were \$8,000,600 and its imports \$4,976,731. Later it began to show the effects of a determination on the part of Southern merchants to deal with importers of their own section. In 1851 its imports exceeded its exports, and amounted to \$6,106,106, brought in 343 American vessels, and \$1,137,857 brought in 147 foreign ones. Of its exports, \$4,685,199 went out in 322 American ships, and \$1,780,966 in 152 foreign ones.

The whole South, indeed, shared in the great advance in exports between 1850 and 1860; Louisiana and Alabama nearly trebling theirs, Virginia and Georgia doubling theirs, and Maryland and South Carolina making a similar percentage of increase. Virginia, Maryland, Louisiana, and South Carolina increased their imports, Virginia nearly thrice; but there was a decline in those of Georgia and Alabama, and Louisiana's \$18,349,516 were not quite \$1,000,000 more than those of 1835.1

Not only was the South a large factor in the development of Northern trade in home manufactures and im-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix D, Table 2.

ported articles, but it furnished the material for much of the outward commerce. New Orleans may have seen its trade flowing toward New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and the last two could not compete successfully with Baltimore. Yet the basis of the export trade of the country was in the South.

The great item in the commercial account was cotton. It constituted \$29,674,883 of the \$59,462,029 worth of domestic exports in 1830, \$63,870,307 of the \$113,895,634 in 1840, \$71.984,616 of the \$136,946,912 in 1850, and \$191,806,555 of the \$373,189,274 in 1860, these exports including large quantities of specie and, after 1850, bullion, principally from the North.

Of domestic exports, the South supplied \$99,500,000 of \$132,667,955 in 1849, according to one estimate; \$181,801,257 of \$338,985,065 in 1857; \$163,082,965 of \$293,758,279 in 1858; and \$196,801,876 of \$335,894,385 in 1859. Of the exports in that year, \$5,281,091 were classed as exclusively Northern, \$57,502,305 as specie,

<sup>1</sup> Until 1830 the gold coined was native, North Carolina supplying most of it. As early as 1824 the product in that State was \$5,000. In 1829 Virginia sent \$2,500, and South Carolina \$3,500, to the mint. The next year Georgia supplied \$212,000; Tennessee, \$1,000 in 1831; and Alabama, \$500 in 1839. Several thousand men were washing gold, and the supply became so abundant that by 1838 branch mints were established at Charlotte, N. C., Dahlonega, Ga., and New Orleans. Between 1831 and 1853 Virginia supplied \$100,000 and Georgia \$500,000 an-The value of Southern gold sent to the mint and its branches up to October 31, 1850, was in all \$15,004,792; North Carolina's share being \$6,707,458; Georgia's, \$6,018,693; Virginia's, \$1,197,838; South Carolina's, \$817,692; Alabama's, \$186,627; and Tennessee's, \$76,574. The discovery of gold in California in large quantities directed attention from the Southern fields, and made them less profitable to work.

\$84,417,493 as from the North and the South jointly, and \$188,693,496 as exclusively Southern. Of the last, \$161,434,923 represented cotton, \$21,074,038 tobacco, \$2,207,148 rice, and \$3,695,474 naval stores.

When the capabilities of the South as a supplier of raw material and as a basis for trade and commerce are considered, it is easily understood how dependent the North was upon it. Cotton was a broad foundation for the manufactures, the foreign commerce, and the domestic trade of the North, in which thousands of its population were employed, and beside being the ruler of the South, extended its sway to other parts. But a writer in the National American, who said in 1858, that cotton might be king if commerce was queen,1 might have added, "and if manufactures were their handmaidens." The safety of a republic containing a complex population may be, perhaps, best subserved in a mutual interdependence of different sections. Yet such a dependence may with difficulty avoid generating sectional jealousies and irritation, especially when differing institutions are impressed upon politics. The safest condition is homogeneity of population, a unity of men engaged in occupations dependent upon each other, and realizing that, while agriculture may be the most independent mode of life for the individual, because it is nearer to nature, it cannot advance in a great section without a commerce to provide a market for its surplus; that the union of commerce and agriculture is incomplete without the assistance of manufactures; and that a blending of the three is necessary for the lasting prosperity of either.

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 449.

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The peculiar agricultural development of the South, full of possibilities in other lines, was responsible for its dependence, industrially and commercially, upon other sections; and it is rather significant that in those States where commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were the more evenly balanced, the desire for political independence of the North was of slower growth than in the rest of the South, and in some was so slow as to make an attempt at accomplishment a physical impossibility.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION.

In 1840 the Southern whites less than twenty years old numbered 2,671,362. There were 264,607 persons at school, 7,106 in colleges, 56,985 in academies or grammar schools, and 200,516 in primary or common schools. In the rest of the country the minor white population were 5,077,582 in number, and 1,761,129 were under instruction, 9,227 of them in colleges, 107,174 in the intermediate institutions, and 1,644,728 in the lowest grades. Sixty-three per cent of the illiteracy in the country among adult whites was in the territory below Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio.

Allowing for errors that had been made in the census which for the first time included educational statistics, the facts presented in it reveal, and at the same time explain, in part, some of the variations between the two sections. The publication of them caused a small sensation in portions of the South, but many years were required for an adequate application of the hints conveyed by them.

Considered by themselves, the figures were, indeed, startling. But statistics derive their chief value as aids to the study of any problem, from their association with additional facts not reducible to numbers. A chemist may readily analyze a glass of water in a large city; but his analysis will be of little assistance to those who

are trying to purify the water, unless they have knowledge of the source of the supplying stream, the nature of the country through which it passes, and the artificial methods employed to bring it to the dwelling of the consumers. The Mississippi River at its mouth can be thoroughly understood only by the man informed of the characteristics of the vast territory drained by it.

So, for the history of Southern education figures alone are not the safe index. Small attendance upon the primary schools, and the extent of illiteracy among the whites, would seem to show that the South was not concerned about education. But facts are against such a conclusion. Old William and Mary College, conceived in the year when the first representative body met in America, had flourished almost for a century when Jefferson mapped his plans for general education in Virginia. Nassau Hall and the spirit of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism - education hand in hand with religion - had produced Hampden-Sidney in Virginia, and in North Carolina, Queen's College, changed to Liberty Hall at the outbreak of the Revolution. Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia had their classical schools, academies, and bounty schools.

The slow development of the college idea before the Revolution is attributable partly to the custom of sending sons of wealthy parents to England for their higher education, the number including some of those who had been to William and Mary. Thus a list of names of Americans admitted to practice in the English courts from 1759 to 1782, is valuable not only as recording the names of many men who were prominent in the first quarter century of the republic, but also as giving an

insight into the extent of this travelling abroad. Of 114 young men admitted to the English bar, South Carolina had 44, Virginia 17, and Maryland 15, of 80 from the South. In the Southern colonies the system of education was about as follows: college for the sons of wealth, charity schools for a limited number of the poor private academies of the intermediate order, largely tinged by the classical influence and for the children of planters, or tutors at their homes, tutors trained often in England, and thoroughly imbued with the belief in the benefits to be had in careful instruction in the classical languages as a basis for a liberal education.

As colonies became States, and as new States were erected in the regions once held by France, Spain, and the red men, the cause of education was not forgotten in intent by men prominent in public affairs. North Carolina and Missouri provided in their Constitutions for a university. Georgia's Constitution of 1777 provided for schools to be erected in each county at the expense of the State, in 1783 appropriated 1,000 acres in each county for a school, and in 1784, 40,000 acres for a university. Delaware set aside in 1796 the receipts from certain kinds of licenses for the establishment of schools. Maryland had by 1784 incorporated Washington College on the eastern shore, and St. John's College, Annapolis, as a university. Texas, as a republic, set aside three leagues of land in each county for primary schools or academies. Kentucky, which already had Transylvania University, made in 1799 grants of lands for academies and seminaries. In Florida was started in 1831 an educational society to meet the needs of the territory. Mississippi's territorial legislature provided for the establishment of Jefferson College, and Louisiana granted permission to its parishes to establish elementary schools.

The intent was not always promptly fulfilled. Where it was fruitful, the lines upon which it extended were not as a rule in accord with the popular notions of latter days regarding the character and purpose of education. As English law and custom dominated the early settlers in New England and the South, so in both sections the English educational idea prevailed at the time of the settlements. But in New England the tendency was to revert to the more primitive forms of government underlying the English constitution; and in the South, to continue on the line developed from the Norman influence. The New England State grew from the association of townships. The Southern State was born full-grown, and its counties or parishes were the creatures, not the parents, of the colony or State. In neither section at first was there any conception of the modern education for the masses. But the South was slower to adopt the theory that education should be extended to all classes by the State, because the nature of its settlement was conducive to a maintenance of English ideas of the seventeenth century model. The changes of the Revolution were not powerful enough to affect opinion materially. To be sure, Jefferson, whose mind was so prominent in the framing of the fundamental law for the great Northwest Territory, was unswerving in his efforts to incorporate upon the Commonwealth of Virginia his plan for general education, presented in 1779 with the healthy basis of elementary schools for rich and poor alike. But, though his persistency resulted in the great university which would have been at the top of the system, his plan was as impracticable as that of dividing the State into townships after two hundred years of centralized government, and in a region where nature had made a system similar to New England's impossible.

With such examples as the University of Virginia and that of North Carolina, the South was yet tardy in recognition of the value of the interest of the State in education. Though William and Mary suffered from the effects of the fall of the established church in Maryland and Virginia, the belief that religion should be connected with education was for years as potent as ever; and consequently, in some of the older States, the conviction that religion and morality implied adherence to a particular branch of the church was an obstacle in the way of advancing education under the auspices of the State.

Presbyterians in the first half of the century had Hampden-Sidney, Virginia, after giving the impetus to Washington College; Davidson College, North Carolina; Erskine College, South Carolina; and Oglethorpe University, Georgia; and had penetrated beyond the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky. The Baptists had Richmond College, Virginia; Wake Forest, North Carolina; Furman University, South Carolina (named after Richard Furman, who as far back as 1814 had broached the idea of a national Baptist university in Washington); Mercer University, Georgia; Howard College, Alabama; and Union University, Tennessee. The Methodists had Randolph-Macon and Emory and Henry, Virginia; Trinity, North Carolina; Emory Col-

lege, Georgia; and LeGrange College, Alabama; while the beginning of Wofford College, South Carolina, had been made. The Lutherans had the Virginia Collegiate Institute; the Episcopalians, St. James College, Maryland, and still patronized William and Mary; and the Catholics had Mt. Saint Mary's College, Maryland, Georgetown College at the nation's capital, and St. Joseph's College, Alabama.

These institutions had a hold upon their respective denominational adherents that became a mighty factor in the intellectual development of the South. Many of the brightest minds of that section were trained in them; and though their support may have helped to retard the growth of a sentiment favorable to higher education at the hands of the State alone, and of the slower experiments in common school education, they performed their part well.

The new States inherited the tendencies of the old ones, and as pioneer communities rested under greater difficulties. But some of them had in one respect originally an equal chance with the new States of the North. Prominent as was the South in the passage of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, relinquished for the common welfare by the leading Southern State, it did not as a section obtain from the general government educational aid in equal proportion with the North. The provisions for land grants for education emphasized in the ordinance were extended to Mississippi Territory in 1803, and were partly duplicated after 1800 in the erection of all the States except Maine and Texas. Nine Northern States and six Southern States admitted to the Union before

1860 received grants of land for educational purposes. While Connecticut made a good financial bargain for schools in the settlement of claims to the Northwest Territory, Kentucky, a part of the ceding State, derived no benefit from the Act of 1787 and its extension. Neither did Texas, but that State entered the Union without the preliminary territorial stage and in the guise of a seller of land to the United States. The six other new Southern States received, however, their due proportion of land for higher education. Their share of grants for universities and seminaries was 322,560 acres of a total of 898,560; and for schools, was 5,520,504 acres of a total of 46,816,574, divided as follows:—

	FOR SCHOOLS.	FOR UNIVERSITIES
Total	46,816,574 acres	s. 898,560 acres.
Alabama	902,774 "	46,080 "
Arkansas	886,460 "	46,080 "
Florida	908,503 "	92,160 "
Louisiana	786,044 "	46,080 "
Mississippi	837,584 "	46,080 "
Missouri	1,199,139 "	46,080 "
Total South .	5,520,504 "	322,560 "

As Florida received a double portion in consideration for concessions to the general government, so there was special legislation for Tennessee. In 1806 Congress set aside 100,000 acres of land for two colleges in that State, and 100,000 for academies, and provided that the State in issuing grants and perfecting titles should locate where possible in certain territory ceded, 640 acres in every six square miles for school purposes.

Again, in 1846, the United States granted to the State lands aggregating 3,553,824 acres, on condition that \$40,000 of the proceeds should be appropriated for a college. The confusion of titles through rapid immigration made it difficult for the legislature to protect the school lands; and, indeed, some of the rights to college lands were lost. But those that were secured, if added to those in the South already enumerated, would increase the total for that section.

Indirectly, other aid was given by the general government to the States. Of the \$28,101,645 surplus refunded to the States under the Act of 1836, the South received \$12,053,562.18. Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri used all of their share, and Georgia, Marvland, North Carolina, and South Carolina, part of theirs, for education, a total of about \$4,382,879.03; while \$7,670,683.15 were appropriated for internal improvements or for general purposes. Of the \$16,048,082.82 received by the North, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont devoted all their share, amounting to \$6,643,075.94, to education; and Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, part of theirs, the North expending more than one-half of its portion in that way. Six millions of this was the share of New York and Ohio.

From such conditions of a material character, and under the influence of certain habits of thought inherited through three or four generations, the Southern educational system was developed. Its accomplishments and its fortunes present definite phases.<sup>1</sup>

During the whole period under review, the South had

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E, Table 1.

more colleges than the North, and their number in proportion to the number of the white population under twenty years of age was much greater.1 The same thing may be said of college students as far as proportions are concerned; for in 1840 the South had one student for every 376 of the part of the population mentioned, while the rest of the country had one for 550. This ratio was practically maintained for years; and in 1860 the South had 26,823 students, or one for 162, while the North had but 29,297, or one for 317. In twenty years the attendance upon colleges increased from an average of 82 students in each college to one of 102, an increase of 33 per cent; while in the North the increase was but 32 per cent, from 108 to 143. The number of colleges and students in the South more than doubled in the ten years between 1850 and 1860, and the failure of the North to keep up its percentage is partly explained by the increase in the South.

The ante-Revolutionary practice of sending sons of wealth to England was intended as much, perhaps, to lead them into the culture of university life away from home as to enable them to obtain the benefits of the curriculum. The same motives had not a little to do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Such is the deduction from the census tables. But estimates differed. One table, published in 1837, gave 41 colleges to the South in a total of 93. One of 1854 in the American Almanac gave a total of 215, with 18,733 pupils, including 119 colleges, 44 theological schools, 36 medical schools, and 16 law schools. The table of 1837 credited Virginia with 5 colleges; the census of 1840 gave it 13; the American Almanac for that year, 7 of the 49 in the South, in a total of 100. Nine colleges were represented in the college convention in Richmond in 1844, and the census of 1850 gave the State 12 colleges.

with the travel of Southern youth to Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, while the plans for universities and colleges were maturing at home.1 The Rev. Whiteford Smith. in an address in South Carolina in 1851, said that formerly boys had been sent to other sections to remove them from the influences of slavery. Whatever the purpose may have been, it is a fact that hundreds of youths went North to complete their education. This was the case particularly with medical students. In the six years ended in 1839, it is estimated that 1.238 medical students from Virginia alone attended Northern colleges, at a cost of \$494,500; and in the session of 1845-1846, of the 432 students at the University of Pennsylvania, 265 were from the South.2 There was some reciprocity in this respect; but its slight dimensions may be seen in the fact, that of 514 students of the University of Virginia in 1855, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Ohio contributed one each, Virginia 322, and the remainder came from the farther South. At the University of North Carolina, in the same year, of 324 students, 230 were from North Carolina, two from Iowa, one from California, and the others from the South. Close inspection of the records would probably show that the students credited to the North and the West were sons of transplanted Southerners: for, while Northern teachers could be attracted to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Though the factor of expense may have had a little to do with this plan, it was of slight importance probably. An estimate of 1851 placed the expenses at Harvard at \$180, at the University of Virginia at \$228, at Yale at \$164, and at the University of North Carolina at \$171.

In one year, of 2357 students at college in Massachusetts, 711 were not natives of that State, and 152 came from the South.

South, the Northern student class seemed to prefer to support home institutions. Another estimate, made in the early part of 1855, compared two leading Southern colleges with two Northern ones for five years, in the matter of attendance, as follows:—

	YALE.	HARVARD.	VIRGINIA.	NORTH CAROLINA.
1850	385	273	212	150
1855	443	339	505	270

These figures are significant in recording a change of policy. While general statistics indicate an impetus in college work, the comparison of the five years shows a decided increase in the attendance of Southerners upon their own institutions.

This was in line with the intention to be free from what was called dependence upon the North; and it was designed to keep Southern youth imbued with a proper respect for the institutions of their section.\(^1\) Calhoun, who was educated at Yale, advised, it was said, that boys who intended to reside in the South should be trained there. Such advice was logical from the standpoint of those who believed that the civilization of the South could not be changed. To what extremes this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1840 Harvard had 236 students, Princeton 263, Yale 438, the University of Virginia 243. The collegiate expenses were \$93 at Harvard, and \$98 at the University of Virginia, while the board was \$90 at the former, and \$125 at the latter. The University of Mississippi opened in 1848, in a region where fifteen years before the Indian had his home, started with 80 students, and in 1858 had 168, which was less than the attendance of two years previously.

might be carried is shown by the comment of John M. Richardson of Georgia, when the project of the central Southern university was under consideration. He had apparently lost sight of the influence which already the University of Virginia had exerted upon the South as well as upon the North, when he wrote that "the University of Virginia is not sufficiently Southern, sufficiently central, sufficiently cottonized, to become the great educational centre of the South." The Rev. C. K. Marshall of Mississippi, who for years was an earnest advocate of measures for counteracting the influence of education received at Northern colleges, or at home from Northern instructors, contended that it was not possible for Southerners to be educated safely at the North. "Our sons and daughters," he said, "return to us from their schools and colleges in the North with their minds poisoned by fanatical teachings and influences against the institution of slavery, with erroneous religious opinions on the subject, and with the idea that it is a sin to hold slaves." The idea of W. H. Trescott of South Carolina was, that it was required of the State "to afford that degree of education to every one of its white citizens which will enable him intelligently and actively to control and direct the slave-labor of the State."1

Until the University of Virginia began to exert its great influence upon higher education in the South, many

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 431; xx. 148; xxiii. 490. It was calculated that in the South were 1,222,661 males capable of bearing arms; and it was argued that 305,133 of these ought to be at college, while only 61,026 were able to go. In fact, less than that number were at college.

of the professors in its colleges came from the North or from abroad.¹ Princeton and Yale contributed a large share to the faculties; but presently the South had its own men, such as James L. Cabell, Gessner Harrison, Henry St. George Tucker, John B. Minor, David Lowry Swain, Robert W. Barnwell, William C. Preston, A. B. Longstreet, James H. Thornwell, James D. B. De Bow, who was at the head of one of the first departments of statistics in any university in the country, Stephen Elliott, John LeConte, Basil Manly, Landon C. Garland, William J. Rivers, James P. Wilson, Daniel Kirkwood, E. J. Newlin, George Fred. Holmes, Alfred Taylor Bledsoe, John P. Kennedy, George H. Calvert, Jr., and Edward A. Dalrymple.

The colleges of the North were better equipped in the number of professors than those of the South. Thus in 1855 ten Virginia colleges with 1,206 students had 72 professors, while four in Massachusetts with 927 students had 74 professors. In 1856 the University of Virginia had 15 instructors, Harvard 42, Yale 43, and Princeton, 20.

A feature of college statistics of the period must not be unnoticed. The slow development of complete universities in Maryland, Louisiana, and Alabama was doubtless due to the existence of the Universities of Virginia and North Carolina, to the multiplication of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Among these were Thomas Cooper, of erratic career but of profound learning; Francis Lieber, the publicist, whose foundation of fame was laid in South Carolina; Thomas H. Key; and Elisha Mitchell, who died in the cause of science while he was a professor at the university where had been established, in 1827, by Joseph Caldwell, the first astronomical observatory in this country.

colleges through denominational activity excited by the dread of an education without orthodoxy, and to the sluggishness of the State. But the large list of colleges in the country was the result in part of a natural tendency to give the secondary training of the academy the stamp of the college degree. Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, in an oration delivered in Boston in 1842, drew attention to this condition of affairs. He was somewhat harsh, and he did not elaborate all the circumstances, but vet there was much truth in his words. "I rejoice," said he, "in the existence of any institution for the increase of knowledge among the people; but the honor of education is rather tarnished than brightened by giving a president and a faculty, instead of a prudential committee-man, to a district school, and then calling it a college. census gives to Massachusetts but four colleges with 769 students. What, then, are we to think of the twelve colleges set down to Maryland (with less than threesevenths of our free white population and with almost 12,000 over the age of twenty unable to read and write) with 813 students; of the thirteen colleges set down to Virginia with 1,097 students; of the ten in Kentucky with 1,419 students; and of the eighteen in Ohio with 1,717 students? Some of these colleges or universities of the West and South I know are well conducted, and embrace a competent range of studies; but whoever has visited many of the institutions bearing these highsounding names, inquired into their course of studies, marked the ages of the students, and seen the juvenile alumni, well knows that the amount of instruction there given bears no greater proportion to what a liberal

college course of studies should be than the narrow circuit of a mill-horse to the vast circumference of the hippodrome." 1

As Mann in his remarks did not allude to the fact that at least five of the colleges in Virginia were more or less under denominational control, he omitted one opportunity of explaining the existence of many Southern colleges. He, however, did show by his allusion to Ohio that the North was not free from what he considered a drawback upon the South. It must be remembered, too, that New England at that time was prompt in criticism of both the West and the South, and that errors in the census and inflation of an institution's standing were not sectional. His criticism would have been less weighty ten years later, when Southern colleges were receiving more home patronage and were conducted by Southern men; but the evil of confusing college with university, and high-grade academy with college, has never ceased to exist in this country. 2

The gradual withdrawal of Southern students from Northern institutions at a time when the love of section had become one of the motive forces in Southern education may be considered as rather limiting opportunities for the student. The real education that a young man

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Special Report, U. S. Department of Education, 1870, 846.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 1840 Kentucky had one college for every 141 students; Massachusetts, one for 192; Virginia, one for every 84; and Ohio one for 90. If the figures of Mann were alone consulted, it would appear that there were as striking differences in the North as in the South. But they were not as numerous. The general average of attendance upon colleges in the South was 82 in 1840, in 1850 it was 101, and in 1860 it was 102; and in the North 108 in 1840, 131 in 1850, and 143 in 1860.

obtains at college is the result as much of his intercourse with his fellows as the knowledge gained from books. But as this higher opportunity had been given for many years almost exclusively to Southern students, this broadening influence of seeing with one's own eyes the gifts and the failings of others, it was, perhaps, better that some argument, however narrowly conceived, should be advanced to spur the South to greater educational energies.

In maintaining a high standard in the curriculum, the authorities of colleges in the South were hampered by the problem of discipline. Lads raised upon a plantation had not always learned thoroughly the lesson of self-control before they were removed from the restraints of comparative isolation. Several times in the history of the University of Alabama serious disturbances arose among the students; and one of these in 1848 resulted in the suspension of all the one hundred and two students but three. The fatal stabbing of John Edward Roach in 1858 at Delaware College, the slaying of Professor Davis in 1840 at the University of Virginia,—"shot down by the hand that should have been raised in his defence, as the student's guardian and friend,"—were exceptional cases of lawlessness ending in crime.

The spirit which led students of the University of Virginia to petition for the removal of an unpopular professor, to boycott a professor in South Carolina College, and to resist "the exculpation law" of the University of Alabama, took another form when it broke forth in the rowdyism that still lingers in institutions of the old régime in this country. To curb it, regulations were adopted in some institutions. Penalties were imposed

for midnight depredations, for gambling and drinking; requests were made by faculties that merchants of such towns as Williamsburg should not extend credit to students unless upon application by parents or guardians; and the legislative enactments of North Carolina drew around its University a cordon against gaming, horse-racing, cock-fighting, liquor-selling, and politics.

The great force exerted upon students, however, was an appeal to personal honor. Beverly Tucker expressed it generally for the South when he told the students of William and Mary that "the student is not harassed by petty regulations, he is not insulted or annoyed by impertinent surveillance. Spies and informers have no countenance among us. We receive no accusation but from the countenance of the accused. His honor is the only witness to which we appeal. . . . The effect of this system in inspiring a high and scrupulous sense of honor, and a scorn of all disingenuous artifice, has been ascertained by long experience, and redounds to the praise of its authors. That it has not secured a regular discharge of all academical duties, or prevented the disorders which characterize the wildness of youth, is known and lamented. But we believe and know, that he who cannot be held to his duty but by base and slavish motives can never do honor to his instructors,"1

Exaggerated notions of personal honor prevailed now and then. At the South Carolina College, for instance, two boys, encouraged by grown men as seconds, one of whom gained later military and civic honors, fought a duel because they had disputed about a dish of fish at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, i. 153.

the table. One was killed, and the other was crippled. This occurred in the early days of the institution, and in 1836 two students were expelled on account of a duel.

Criticism was made of the lack of proper preparation for a university career, but that lack was not due to the absence of first-class intermediate schools. In 1840 the South had 1,567 academies, or grammar schools as some were still called, with 56,985 pupils, 28 per cent of those in the whole country. By 1850 the schools increased 61 per cent, and the pupils 88 per cent. During the next decade there was an increase of 22 per cent in the number of schools, and of 45 per cent in the number of pupils. Just as was the case with colleges and primary schools, the average number of students to the school in the preparatory grade was below that in the North. In the South it was 36 in 1840, and 48 in 1860; in the North 64 in 1840, and 83 in 1860. In some of the States the income from the lands received from the United States for education was expended on seminaries, in others it was divided between seminaries and colleges.

The institutions thus organized were supplemented by those organized by private individuals or by church bodies. They included schools for girls as well as for boys, some of them training both, though the modern idea of coeducation was hardly adopted, separation in the same school building being the rule, even where public education was given both sexes. Florida's two seminaries, Maryland's county academies, the Wesleyan Female College in Georgia, the Horner and Bingham schools in North Carolina, and the Green Spring School in Alabama, were examples of the institutions that flourished at the time. Some of them survived the war, and were incorporated in the public school system; and many of them were famous in their day, and were liberally patronized.

One phase of intermediate instruction was but transitory. About 1830 the manual labor, or agricultural, movement in education began to assume some importance in this country. The first school of the kind had been established in the South in 1797, near Abbeville, S.C. Several attempts were made to ingraft the scheme upon existing institutions. At Davidson College, at Lake Forest, at Furman, and elsewhere, the experiment was tried, but it was soon abandoned.

Advocates of it saw a chance to counteract the great tendency to professional and political life, and an opportunity to develop the body as well as the mind. The Rev. E. F. Stanton, in an address before the Literary Institute of Hampden-Sidney, said that the system would make useful and respectable laborers, mechanics, planters, and farmers. "This, after all," he argued, "is the population of which more than any other Virginia needs an increase." But the average youth raised in the country was accustomed to vigorous outof-door exercise from his childhood; the farmers' sons who attended college did not think it necessary to carry on their ordinary pursuits in interruption of their book education; and one of those who had attended an institution of the kind in South Carolina, and who attributed much benefit to his training there, said that there was a constant war between mental and physical training to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, ii. 251.

triumph of the former; for "to conduct the plough, to wield the axe, to follow the ox-cart, to bank the potatobeds, were not congenial to the feelings of youth who were beginning to have aspirations in philosophy." The movement, of brief popularity, was transformed into one that found expression, on the one hand, in such an institution as the Maryland Agricultural College, or the school, in the North Carolina University, for the application of science to the arts; and on the other, in the military school, that of Virginia, founded in 1839, not only leading, but being the model for, others in the South, organized in the days following the compromises of 1850, when estimates of the school population did not omit the possibility of students being called on to bear arms actively for their section.

Libraries and the newspaper should be included among the educational factors under consideration. In the South the newspaper occupied a position between the primary school and the college, and the library was supplementary to all. The American newspaper was born in the North, and slowly in colonial times made its way southward. Annapolis, Md., had its first newspapers in 1726; Williamsburg, Va., in 1729; Charleston, S.C., in 1730; Newberne, N.C., in 1755; and Savannah. Ga., in 1762. With a compact population, and a wide diffusion of ability to read, gained through the common school system, it was not surprising that by 1847 the emporium of New England was producing 6,926 acres of printed matter a year, or that the section dominated by the economic influences of the older seaboard States of the North should support a large number of peri-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 265.

odicals. In 1828, just before the period when increased activity in politics gave birth to many papers, the North published 606, and the South 202. By 1840 the number in the whole country had increased 101 per cent, and in the South 134 per cent; and after that time the percentage of increase was about the same in both sections, the South having whatever advantage there was in point of numbers.<sup>1</sup>

As anybody is at liberty to establish a newspaper, the number of journals is never a fair criterion of the influence of the press; though before the war it was, perhaps, a more certain index than it is to-day. The circulation and the character of the papers form the better basis for a judgment of their usefulness to the community. The South showed a steady improvement, not only in the number of its papers, but in the number of readers. In 1840 the average was one paper for 10.249 of the free population; in 1850, one for 8,948; and in 1860, one for 7,098. In twenty years the number in the North increased from one for 8,399 free persons to one for 6,642, a smaller relative increase in spite of a greater increase in density of population. But in 1860 the total circulation, according to the figures, which bear evidence of inflation, was much greater in the North than in the South. For instance, one weekly copy was issued for 3 persons in the North, and for 6 in the South; and one daily for 16 and 29 persons in the respective sections. Under the impetus given by such journals as the Sun and the Herald of New York, and the Ledger of Philadelphia, published at low rates. the daily paper had in a quarter of a century become

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E., Tables 2 and 3.

a great power; but the weekly maintained its old position gained before the birth of the telegraph and the railroad, and the inventions that contributed so much to the development of journalism.

It was in the weekly, too, that politics predominated as a subject. Of the 1,178 periodicals in the South in 1860, 992 were political, 78 were literary, 63 religious. and 45 miscellaneous; and of the political papers, 820 were weeklies. Many of their names were significant. Contemporary with the Delaware Gazette, the National Intelligencer of Washington, the Richmond Enquirer, and the Dispatch, the Raleigh Register, the Charleston Courier, the Grand Gulf Advertiser, the Natchez Courier. the Louisville Journal, the Memphis Bulletin, the Mobile Advertiser, the New Orleans Picayune, the Atlantic Intelligencer, and the Montgomery Advertiser and Gazette, were the Richmond Whig, the Augusta Constitutionalist, the Charlottesville Jeffersonian, the Washington Union, the Loco Foco, the Delaware Blue, the Blue Hen's Chickens, the Charleston Mercury, the Montgomery Confederation, and others marking the political distinctions and the party spirit of the times.1

Though the percentage of political papers was less in the North, there were notable exceptions. Massachusetts, with a free population of 1,231,066, had, in 1860, 112 political organs, and Virginia, with a population of 1,105,453, had 117. Ten years before Massachusetts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The number of newspapers in some towns was remarkable at times. Thus, in 1859, Mobile, with a population of 35,000, had four papers; Memphis, with a population of 30,000, had five; Atlanta, with a population of 12,000, had three; and Montgomery, with 10,000 inhabitants, had three papers.

had 82, and Virginia 62. Some of the party-organs were short-lived, having been floated by leaders for campaign purposes; but many represented a combination of editor and proprietor, and consequently had greater force than the product of a joint-stock company. The paper was the representative of the individual who filled the editorial column every week or more frequently, as the tri-weekly and semi-weekly were quite popular. It was not so much the *Enquirer* or the *Whig*, as it was Ritchie or Pleasants.

That this feeling had much to do with the tone of the Southern press cannot be doubted. A political editorial was the more forcible in that its authorship was easily recognized, and because it was known that the writer, though he may have been a special pleader, was no mere attorney at literature, ready to take the part of those who approached him first or who offered the larger fee, but was fully prepared to stand by his utterances to the last ditch. Working under many disadvantages, mechanical and financial, the politician of the sanctum was a mighty rival of the politician of the stump.

Much of the editorial writing was distinguished for the purity of its diction and for the thoroughness of its information. The custom of obtaining material from thinkers and writers in other professions, as well as the tendency to make the newspaper the vehicle for essays in literature, added to the value of the publication. Such was the influence of the editorial in the weekly; that when the importance of news-gathering was more and more recognized in the growth of the daily, the term "the editor," was associated rather with the writer of editorials, than with the man who grasped all the details of the paper. John M. Daniel was the high type of many editors of the South, but there were comparatively few ready newsgatherers.

Enterprise was directed to the task of answering the arguments of a political opponent in the defence of party, or to the arraignment of the opposition, rather than to aiding the development of natural resources, or to the attempt to make the first publication of news. A curious illustration of the germinating phase of newsgathering enterprise was presented as the outcome of a large gathering in Alabama. Appreciating the significance of the meeting, two newspapers of the city brought a competent reporter from a distance to do the work for them, and guaranteed him a certain remuneration. At the conclusion of the meeting, a delegate acquainted with the facts moved that whatever funds remained after the payment of expenses should be divided between the two papers. This suggestion elicited the information that another paper of the city had been represented in the convention, and the original motion was modified so as to include all the papers in the benefaction.

Two obstacles confronted Southern journalism. The manifestations of the slavery agitation must have hampered the editor in dealing with public questions. The bulk of his readers were directly or indirectly interested in the institution against which centred the opposition of the rest of the country to the South. To have joined the opposition by indirection, so many were the ramifications of the problem, would have tended to destroy a journalist's career of usefulness.

As early as 1860, when a magazine of the far South,

in its efforts to spur that section to greater vigor other than political, gave facts about the real situation, Georgia and South Carolina papers counselled Southern men not to support the magazine. No man stronger in his devotion to the South than De Bow ever lived, and this experience of his merely exemplifies the circumspection demanded of the editor by one class.1 Five years later both the duty of the Southern journalists and their environments were described in a comment upon educated editors and writers provided by the colleges. "They stand," said the commentator, "as the sentinels of the political, the religious, the literary world. They are the first to sound the alarm-signal whenever any unworthy intruder dares to set unhallowed foot within the portals of our State, church, or educational institutions." 2 About the same time, and when the New York Tribune had a circulation of 3,055 in all the Southern States, - an increase of 1,480 in eighteen months, the quixotic plan was advocated of establishing in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, daily papers to combat upon its own grounds the agitation against the South, and also agencies to inform Southerners of bankers, brokers, shippers, importers, manufacturers, commission merchants, publishers, hotel-keepers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He was more conservative from the Southern standpoint when he declined in 1856 to publish a letter from a Southerner on the "true policy of the South," and said, "Although in ordinary times I might not hesitate to allow an individual expression of opinion, the antipodes of my own upon this subject, in the pages of the Review, to permit it at this time would be to bring myself within the pale of the just reprehension of every good man and yourself, upon sound second thought, I hope, among the number." [De Bow's Review, xxiii. 105.]

<sup>2</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xxiv. 168.

artisans, and shopkeepers who were friendly to the South. This journalistic plan was bold in its conception; but it had the incurable weakness of having a newspaper dependent for its support upon a constituency residing at a distance, a journalistic paradox.

The spirit of enterprise would have been checked at any rate by the lack of funds. The art of advertising was better understood in the North, and business men of that section availed themselves of Southern newspapers to extend their trade. Occasionally the Southern merchant was lectured for expecting to gain business without paying for it. Alluding to Northern business advertisements, it was once said, "The most extreme Southern Rights paper could not of course refuse them a place which they are willing to pay for liberally and promptly, and which no Southern man cares to occupy." 1

Another drawback, slighter in degree, the natural result of journalism in the days when disagreements about politics frequently meant personal antagonism, was the liability of the editor to be compelled to indorse his opinions by force. Possibly the extreme case was the experience of those connected with a Vicksburg paper between 1837 and 1850. The founder of the paper, after being involved in several street-fights and a duel, was killed. Of his successors, four were killed in duel or street-fight, one by a rival editor, one drowned himself, and one, after killing his man, was himself killed in Texas.

Personal responsibility for utterances was a partial guaranty of sincerity, and had greater weight, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxviii. 493.

with many readers, whose opportunities for gaining information of the progress of the world were confined principally to the weekly press. For the library was but limited in its extent. Outside of the colleges and some of the larger cities, there were few collections of books to which the public had access; and in 1860, of the 27,730 libraries, not including private collections, with 13,316,379 volumes in the country, the South had 5,514, with 3,177,708 volumes. They included the collection of the Petersburg Library Association, the Savannah Library Association, the Charleston Library Society, and the Apprentices' Library Society of that city; the State Library of 5,000 volumes, and the Mechanics' Library of 4,000, at Nashville; the private library of B. F. French of 75,000 volumes in the Merchants' Exchange, the public school library, 3,000 volumes, the Young Men's Free Library Association's, 2,000 in New Orleans, and the Louisiana State Library. The subscription feature generally prevailed in circulating libraries, and for a time some of the State libraries were for the exclusive use of officials. Here and there literary societies or lyceums gathered a few current publications, and in many old mansions rare prints and the works of masters in European literature were cherished. the lack of elementary training in so many of the white population contributed to the smallness of support given to the newspaper, and to the slight demand for books among the masses. Illiteracy was no foundation for a circulating library, and inadequacy of primary instruction was the root of the evil.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the development of the census relating to education, so many changes were made that it is not always possible to group,

In discussions, both North and South, of the revelations of the census of 1840, the opinion was expressed that the figures told but part of the truth. In Virginia an educational convention was held in the winter of 1841; and James M. Garnett, then advanced in years. made a stirring address, with the census for his text. He said that individuals had tried to have such conventions before, but that their efforts had met with no fuvorable response. "This, I verily believe, would still be the case," continued he, "had it not been for the startling fact, disclosed by our late census, that there are nearly sixty thousand of our white population, over twenty years of age, who can neither read nor write. The publication of such a fact throughout the United States - a fact so replete with reproach, degradation, and disgrace to Virginia - has effectually shamed and alarmed us all. It is, in truth, the primary cause of this convention."1

for comparative purposes, the results of the three enumerations made before the war. Thus, in 1840, no record was made of negro illiterates, nor was any distinction made between natives and foreign-born among the whites. There were minor differences between the censuses of 1850 and 1860; and, in the tables, comparisons were made between the whole number of persons aged twenty years and more, and the number of illiterates aged twenty-ene and more. But Dr. Edwin Leigh, who in 1870 presented an elaborate report upon the subject, arranged a series of tables and diagrams in which the illiterates were compared with the total number of persons of the same age. Upon Leigh's figures is based the table. [See Appendix E, Table 4.] In this table foreign-born and native populations are combined for both races; and no statistics of free negro illiteracy for 1840 are given, because no data could be obtained upon which to base them.

<sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, viil. 115.

The speaker urged that public meetings should be held in all the counties where any reluctance was manifested to receive such instruction as the schools could give, and he believed from his study of the returns from some counties that the official returns fell short of the truth. He estimated that the total number of illiterates, including the population between twelve and twenty years, was 120,000. In this belief he was sustained in part by the statement of Governor Campbell in 1839, in his message to the Assembly, based upon the reports from five city and borough courts and ninetythree county courts of marriage licenses granted in 1817. 1827, and 1837. Governor Campbell wrote: "The statements show that the applicants for marriage licenses in 1817 amounted to 4,682; of whom 1,127 were unable to write; 5,048 in 1827, of whom the number unable to write was 1,166; and in 1837 the applicants were 4,614, and of these the number of 1,047 were unable to write their names."

Whatever inaccuracies existed in the census could not have been confined to one section, and in comparison they may be disregarded. Beginning with the white population, the figures show several interesting facts. The most significant, perhaps, is that while there was comparatively little change in the proportion of population in the North to that of the South between 1840 and 1860, the proportion of illiteracy decreased. In 1840 more than 62 per cent of the white illiteracy in the country was in the South; in 1860 less than 48 per cent. Between 1840 and 1850 it increased 119 per cent in the North, and 48 per cent in the South, while the white population had increased 48 and 40 per cent in

the respective sections. In the next decade the population increasing 44 and 34 per cent respectively, the illiteracy increased 29.84 per cent in the North, and 5.41 in the South; or taking the whole free population, which had increased 43 and 32 per cent in the respective sections, the illiteracy had increased 27.81 per cent in the North, and 5.14 per cent in the South. In the North there was a slight actual as well as a proportional decrease in negro illiterates; in the South merely a proportional decrease.

The free negro was really a small factor in the general result, and for the present may be disregarded. What, then, had caused the change in the status of the North, which not only had the better machinery, but machinery longer established, for counteracting illiteracy? Why should the proportionate increase of illiteracy have been greater in the North? A partial answer is given in the presence of the foreign element.<sup>1</sup>

In the decade ended in 1860, though the number of alien passengers landed in the United States was only 457,130 greater than in the previous ten years, the foreign-born inhabitants of the country had increased from 2,210,839 to 4,136,175, the North gaining the greater number, and the South having a less proportion of the whole than in 1850. Of the foreign element, 2,477,491 were twenty years old or more, an increase of 1,133,196 of that age since 1850. In 1850, 3 per cent of the illiteracy in the South, and 38 per cent in the North, were foreign; in 1860, 7 per cent in the South and 52 per cent in the North were foreign. While native illiteracy had increased in ten years but

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E, Table 5.

1.7 per cent in the South and 1.5 per cent in the North, the foreign had increased more than 100 per cent in the South, and more than 75 per cent in the North. But there were 41,802 foreign illiterates in the South in 1860, and 320,575 in the North; and as the native population of the age designated had increased in greater proportion in the North than in the South, the former section had a smaller percentage of illiteracy than the latter as far as the native whites were concerned. Indeed, the proportion of foreign illiterates to the foreign population was greater in the South in 1860 than in 1850, and less in the North.

Although no exact figures are attainable for comparison of foreign illiteracy in 1840 and 1850, it is believed that the large increase in the total between those years was due to the incoming of immigrants after 1843 from countries in which the masses had been practically disbarred from educational advantages. Of the foreignborn illiterates in the country in 1860, Illinois had 20,627; Massachusetts, 46,847; New York, 99,856; and Pennsylvania, 38,200; while Missouri, with the greatest number in the South, had 9,876.

Still, an improvement had been made in the South. Between 1850 and 1860 the percentages of white illiteracy had decreased in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and had increased, because of the foreign element, in Delaware and the District of Columbia. The most marked change occurred in Maryland, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, where the actual number decreased.

Including the free negro element, there was a decrease of percentage everywhere in the South except in Delaware, and of number in six States and in the District of Columbia. Of native illiterates, white and negro, the number decreased in seven States.

In the North, on the other hand, the percentage of white illiteracy increased in California, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin; and in Indiana and Ohio only had the actual number decreased. Of the total illiteracy but eight of the eighteen States showed a decreased percentage, and but two a decreased number; while of natives the number had decreased in but six States, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Indiana, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, though the percentages had decreased in all save California, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Vermont. The greatest percentage of native illiteracy in the North in 1860 was 11.05 in Indiana, while in the South it was 25.58 in North Carolina; and of the total illiterates, 10.94 in Indiana, and 25.78 in Delaware. The lowest percentage in the North and in the whole country was 2.55 in New Hampshire; and in the South, 10.33 in Texas.

Taking the seven Southern States in which the most marked change for the better had been made, and comparing the figures of three censuses relating to primary schools, one may find a clew to the secret of the decline of illiteracy. In Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, not only had the number of schools and pupils trebled, but the average attendance upon each school had in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix E, Table 6.

creased from 29 pupils in 1840 to 35 in 1860. Kentucky had nearly five times as many schools, and more than six times as many pupils, in 1860 as in 1840; and similar improvement was made in other States. The greatest increase in the number of schools took place before 1850, and that accounts for the decrease of adult illiteracy in the following ten years.

Slowly, but in nearly all directions after 1840, the public school idea was extended. When, in 1843, in New Orleans the common school supplanted the charity schools, the former had 1,156 pupils, and in the next year 1,844, with 33 teachers, 23 female and 10 male. Seven hundred and thirty-six children were not attending school. In 1849, two years after the extension of the system to the State, the superintendent reported that 53,716 children were at school, and that 20,262 were not. The average term was six months and thirteen days. In thirty parishes 12,288 children were at school, and 11,191 were not, in 1855.

Florida passed, in 1849, an Act to establish common schools; but for several years thereafter little progress seems to have been made, and the conditions were similar to those existing under the old school law of 1839. The schools, according to the Act of 1849, were to be supported by the proceeds from the school lands, and five per cent of net receipts from other lands granted by Congress, and from property escheating to the State. In 1850, counties were authorized to provide by taxation for the schools to augment the gift of the State; but the counties did not soon avail themselves of this privilege. In Tallahassee, though, through the efforts of D. S. Walker, a public school, supported by local taxation, was started successfully.

In Georgia was illustrated the sentiment which was so powerful against the steady growth of popularity of the public school system. From 1783 until the outbreak of the war, the primary instruction aided by the State was contingent upon poverty. There the free school meant "poor" school; and, in spite of the services which the system rendered in equipping thousands with the beginnings of an education, it was poor in more ways than one. Efforts to make the system similar to those of the Northern States in 1837, 1845, and 1856 failed; but they showed that citizens of Georgia were not satisfied with the result of the "poor-fund" arrangement, which was manifest in the fact that in 1837, of the 83,000 children in the State, but 25,000 were at school. The system suffered from the neglect of those who had charge of it, and from the indifference of those for whom it was designed.

The action of the Virginia legislature in providing for the annual distribution of \$45,000 from the Literary Fund, among the counties, for elementary instruction of poor children, and \$15,000 for the university, showed the same spirit as that in Georgia, widely differing from the Jeffersonian idea of education by the State. The educational convention of 1841 was followed by one in 1845, when an address to the people of Virginia was issued, stating that "something must be done speedily to arrest the State in her downward course." The signers of this address, animated by the same desire as Garnett, were George W. Munford, William H. Macfarland, Dr. Thomas Nelson, Charles F. Osborne, Peter V. Daniel, Jr., Henry L. Brooke, R. T. Daniel, James E. Heath, Thomas H. Ellis, Benjamin B. Minor, Gustavus A.

Myers, R. B. Gooch, and J. A. Cowardin. They were men prominent in their community, and were not appalled by any fear of adverse comment from stating the real condition of affairs and seeking a remedy. Criticising the system consequent upon the legislation of 1818 in Virginia, a writer contended that the State had done nothing substantial except for the wealthy and the paupers; and he asked, "Are, then, our honest farmers, who keep their heads above water by hard work and rigid economy, managing to pay other expenses, to be denied all governmental aid in enlightening the minds of their children?" The two conventions had an effect upon the schools; but in 1847 another Virginian lamented that party politics and war were overshadowing interest in the subject, "never a very general feeling, but rather one that was fanned into existence by a set of philanthropists, who hoped by their own united exertions on the subject to arouse the people to a sense of their wants." Nothing had been done for primary schools, he said, beyond herding children together in some miserable cabin, to be taught by some man who had "no idea of education beyond the simple acts of reading and writing," and he urged the necessity for a small circulating library in each school district.

Again, in 1848, it was written, "We all lament, deeply lament, the deplorable state of ignorance prevalent amongst our masses, and the total inefficiency of our present system of education; but still we do nothing to remedy it. We rest on the 'past glory' of Virginia, and content ourselves with repeating that the sceptre has departed from the 'mother of States and statesmen.'"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, vii. 635; xi. 607; xiii. 685; xiv. 279.



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pointed to supervise the schools, and to open night schools for apprentices. In 1840 there were five primary and six grammar schools for boys and girls in separate departments.

Beginning with free instruction for the poor, the public school system of Maryland dates from the act of 1825 for the public instruction of youth in primary schools. But by reason of the decentralizing tendency of the act, and of the donation of State funds to county schools and academies, no uniform system was organized before the war. Governor Ligon alluded to this in his message of 1856, when he said that the system of public instruction in Maryland, excepting the public schools of Baltimore, "is in a state of the most utter and hopeless prostration. Our plan of public instruction must be constructed anew, made uniform in its operations throughout the State, supported more liberally by the State and county resources; and, above all, it should be made subject to some controlling supervisory power, through whom all its operations should be annually communicated and made public, or it will fail to meet the exigency of our condition or be attended with any public benefit." But the counties gradually provided a public school system absorbing several of the older academies; and in the State at large, the duty of giving elementary instruction was not allowed to lapse. The act of 1825 provided for a system for Baltimore; and the closeness of population there, as in other Southern cities, and a firm conviction of its advantages, brought it to a high degree of perfection. In 1834 there were 859 pupils

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 2, 1894, 61.

in the schools. A reduction in number accompanied the unsettled conditions following the panic of 1837; but in 1839, when the high school for boys was opened, the number of pupils in the city was 1,126.

The establishment of the high school, which became later the City College, marked the beginning of a rapid increase of popularity of the public school system, and the correction of a disposition to make it a mere class institution. In ten years the pupils numbered 6,763; and in 1852 in three high schools, two of them for girls, 21 grammar, and 26 primary schools, were 9,081 pupils.

To the high school was due the strengthening of the system in St. Louis, originating in an act of Congress in 1812, that reserved certain lands for the support of schools. The first school was opened in 1838; and in 1849, when a proposition to levy a tax of one mill for education in the city was proposed, it was sustained by a vote of five to one. The high-school class of 1853, organized three years after the appointment of a superintendent, grew in two years into a separate school. At the time, in 73 schools with 168 teachers, were 6,642 pupils. Two years later a normal school was started, and shortly afterward the whole system was placed upon a modern basis that has resulted in giving the St. Louis schools a high rank.

In the face of much opposition, after unsatisfactory efforts for a quarter of a century at semi-public instruction by distribution of funds among parish schools, the legislature of Alabama in 1852 made possible the organization of a public school system in Mobile, that was later a model for the State. With only \$5,000 income to be relied upon, the commissioners opened the first

schools in 1852 with 400 pupils in three grades. The attendance more than doubled during the year. Those unable to pay were taught free. The result of a visit of Willis G. Clark to the schools of New York, Boston, and other Northern cities, was utilized in perfecting the organization of the system, which was still opposed by those who derided it as a pauper institution. In 1853 the vote for re-election of out-going commissioners was 1,597, and for those opposed 869. The election of 1857 passed without any opposition. In 1854 the system was enlarged so as to include the county, and in 1858 the attendance upon the city schools was 1,811. Impressed by the success of the Mobile experiment, Judge Meek led in 1854 the movement for the passage of a bill by the legislature for a State system under a superintendent of education. Notwithstanding difficulties of many kinds, the indifference of those who would have been most benefited, and the incompetence of officials, the schools numbered, in 1856, 2,220, with 89,013 pupils; and, in 1858, 2,597 with 98,274 enrolled, the pupils increasing 9,261, and the children of school age but 2,065 in two years. In 1889 Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, United States Commissioner of Education, alluding to Alabama at this period, wrote: "It was truly a novel thing, hard to be credited by people at a distance, that in an extreme Southern city, away back in the fifties, there was a public school system in successful operation, in whose schools pupils were as thoroughly instructed, the methods as advanced, intelligent, and practical, and the discipline as effective, as in the justly famed schools of New England. But it was so."1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 3, 1889, 7.

Earnest men in an adjoining but older State had endeavored for years to counteract the growth of illiteracy. In the agitation for the education of the masses of South Carolina, the leaders were Stephen Elliott, William Crafts, Jr., James H. Thornwell, R. F. W. Allston, Governor McDuffie, C. G. Memminger, R. C. McGrath, and W. Jefferson Bennett. In 1840, of 52,000 children of school age but 12,526 were in the free schools; and in 1846 the statement that the system was a failure was not contradicted in the legislature. In 1855 Governor Adams expressed the same opinion, though a committee of the State senate reported 40,271 children at school, an over-estimate, probably, as the census of 1860 showed but 30,377 under instruction in all grades in the State; and Edwin Heriot, of Charleston, who also was active for education, wrote: "We acknowledge, with mortification and shame, that blessed as we are as a people with abundant resources for improving our standard of education and literature, we remain, in spite of all the efforts which have hitherto been put forth to remove the stigma, far in the background of our contemporaries in availing ourselves of the means at our disposal."1 The efforts of a large minority to repeal in 1813 the fundamental act of 1811 were typical of the hostility of many to the idea of public elementary instruction; and as late as 1856, after the reformation of the system in Charleston, opposition was expressed because the common school rather than the pauper school had been indorsed. To Memminger more than to any other man was due the success which came to the Charleston schools.

For years he labored in the cause of education. He

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xx. 67.

studied the systems in New England and in other parts of the North; and, with his fellow commissioners, he changed the pauper schools to common schools on the New York plan with teachers brought from the North at their head. The improvement was marked. In 1850 the pupils in the city free schools numbered 394, nearly 150 less than in 1830. In the whole State at that time were 17,838 in 724 schools. Ten years later, while the number in the State had increased 1,077, the attendance in Charleston had advanced to 4,000, more than twice the attendance of 1858. In the meantime the schools in the State had been helped by an increase in 1853 of the annual appropriation from \$37,200 to \$74,400.

The common schools of Tennessee suffered from the confusion attending the administration of the public lands. Acts of 1830 providing for the creation of school districts, and the division of appropriations among the schools of the counties, the constitutional provision of 1834 making the school fund perpetual, the act of 1838 amended in 1840 establishing a system of common schools, were but imperfectly carried out. The absence of any State supervision resulted in a lack of unity in administration and of judgment in the use of funds. Yet the number of schools was nearly trebled between 1840 and 1850, and the number of pupils quadrupled.

Six years before admission to the Union, Texas's legislature passed a bill granting lands in each county for education. Five years after admission of the State, primary and other schools were in operation in the principal towns and counties; and in 1854 was passed the law for the formation of a State system of free

when had upon the continuing pression of DSS, that it was the duty to suggest policy which for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the result.

Manufacture attention the several residence in 1866 to leave a special tent for common schools in certain continue. Schools were organized in Arizanas by 1850, but their continue we not represent and in Bellevine public scattling the leave of 1850, though schools to support legitling the leave of 1850, though schools conventions were lead in 1850 and milesquent years. The test progress was made in Wilmington. In the District of Columbia the public school was not popular; in 1840, 756 children attended private schools, and 223, public ones, while the expenditures for public schools during the eight years preseding the war averaged \$32,21521 a year.

Without pretending to recount a minute history of elementary education by the State in the South, the facts regarding the efforts in all the States have been beought forward to illustrate the conditions and to explain the figures of the consus.

Why the South did not make a better showing is another matter. To this many factors contributed. Texas, for example, had hardly progressed beyond the pioneer stage when the war began. In Florida and Arkaness, Alabama and Minimippi, Tennessee and Kentocky, the inhabitants were subduing nature, and had little time to devote to cultivation of books. But such exceptional conditions do not account for the situation in the older States. Nor are they satisfactory at all when comparison is made with new States north of the Ohio, and when it is remembered that in that section nature was not as kindly as in the regions south of the James and the Cumberland.

The influences that had produced the illiteracy of 1840 were prevalent, though in a diminishing degree, during the subsequent years.

However greatly esteemed the education of the academy and the college may have been, the mass of Southerners were not inclined to an enthusiastic support of the common school. Some, like Judge Upshur, may have rested under the firm conviction that the poorer classes of the people in slave-holding States would probably be deficient in the elements of education. They knew what great odds there were against the success of a general system of education, which Jefferson would have attempted to overcome by legislation changing the fundamental order of government. Others contended that the sparseness of population made the plan impracticable. No doubt the closeness of residence in Massachusetts, with 95 persons to the square mile in 1840, was a great aid in bringing education to the doors of the people. At that time there was in the State one schoolhouse for every 219 inhabitants. Virginia had 22 inhabitants to the square mile, or, excluding the slaves, who were not reckoned in the school population, only 11. The primary schools of the State numbered 1,561, or one for every 506 free inhabitants. Massachusetts had a schoolhouse for every two square miles, with 190 inhabitants, and an average of 47 children in each school. Virginia had one school for every 39 square miles, with 429 free inhabitants, and 22 children in each school. To have given the same school facilities to Virginia

children as those enjoyed in Massachusetts would have required, according to one estimate, ten times the number of schoolhouses. But it would be difficult to make an exact estimate. If a schoolhouse had been built in every two miles, 30,676 buildings would have been necessary; but they would have had merely a population of 22 to draw on for pupils, instead of one of 190, as in Massachusetts.

Virginia, however, illustrated the differences in separate sections of the same State. In 1840 the white population of the State west of the line of the Blue . Ridge was 9 to the square mile, and there was one school for every 70 square miles. Of the population, 214,578 under twenty years of age, 14,568 were in 583 schools, an average of 25 to each school. In eastern Virginia the density of population was 14 to the square mile, with a school for every 27 miles, and of the 196,321 minor population, 20,763 were in 978 schools, an average of 21 to each. The larger average attendance upon the school in the western district indicates that, had that region been supplied with schools proportionate to its population and area, the number at school would have been much in excess of that in the lower country. The difference in densities was not so great as that in the number of schoolhouses to the square mile. The density in western Virginia was 64 per cent of that in eastern Virginia, while the school opportunities to the square mile in the former were but 38 per cent of those in the latter.

The divergence is better observable in a comparison of Kentucky and Ohio. The former, admitted to the Union in 1792, had in 1840 a population of 20 to the square mile, or excluding the slaves, of 16, with a schoolhouse for every 39 miles, with 624 inhabitants and an average of 25 pupils to the school. Ohio, across the river, admitted ten years later, had 38 inhabitants to the square mile, a schoolhouse for every 7 square miles, with a population of 266 and 42 pupils in each school. Though the density of Ohio's population was two and three-eighths times that of Kentucky, the State had five times as many schools and more than eight times as many pupils, with less than three times the population of Kentucky. There were minor points of difference; but the educational proposition might read, as Massachusetts was to Virginia, so was Ohio to Kentucky, and the theory of density of population becomes less effective in explanation of illiteracy.

Professor George Tucker recognized this in commenting upon the statistics. "It is true," he wrote, "that in the North-western States, and particularly those which are exempt from slaves, the number of their elementary schools is much greater than that in the Southern or South-western States, although their population is not much more dense; but besides that, the settlers of those States, who were mostly from New England or New York, brought with them a deep sense of the value and importance of the schools for the people; they were better able to provide such schools, in consequence of their making their settlement, as had been done in their parent States, in townships and villages." He called attention to the fact that Michigan, with a thin population, had already provided schools for nearly one-seventh of the population; and he added, "The wise policy pursued, first in New England and since by the States

settled by their emigrants, of laying off their territory into townships, and of selling all the lands of a portion before those of other townships are brought into the market, has afforded their first settlers the benefit of social intercourse and of co-operation. In this way they were at once provided with places of worship and with schools adapted to their circumstances." 1

Another Virginian, James C. Bruce, said, "Our State is not abreast with other States in population, or political power, or commercial or industrial prosperity." This he ascribed to various sources; but he thought that a juster judgment attributed it to the ignorance of the people, and that ignorance was due, not to "sparseness of population, but the apathy of the population and its want of a just appreciation of the vital importance of education." In the same year a governor of Louisiana met the oft-repeated argument of sparseness by saying. "How can it produce neglectful directors and incompetent teachers? How can it affect the administration of funds of the school district and many other evils which are daily complained of by the citizens, and yearly marshalled in grim array in the reports of the superintendent?"2

Attempts were made to meet the disadvantage of a thin population by such a device as the ambulatory school of South Carolina, moving the school from one neighborhood to another, as the occasion seemed to require; but such a plan could have but one result, — elementary education as thin as the population. Thoughtful men saw that, with the exception of cities,

<sup>1</sup> Tucker's "Progress of the United States," 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xix. 298; De Bow's Review, xvii. 421.

the New England system could not be readily ingrafted upon the South. In the first place, the North, and later the West, started with the theory that the small township, a division made necessary by the character of the country and the occupations of the people, should be responsible for the education of the children; but in the South the State was the unit, and where the State relegated to the county, as in Maryland and Georgia, the adoption of a system of education, to be aided by general funds, there was not always unanimity of action as there was in North Carolina. "Individually consulted." said one writer, "we cry out nearly to a man, 'Let us educate our people;' but if called on for combined action, very few, or none, respond to the invitation." It is generally difficult to persuade a dispersed agricultural community, accustomed to depend upon themselves, that they will share in the benefits of a combination for the good of all, especially when accomplishment is not coincident with the ruling rotation of time, - from crop to crop. Taxation, too, is in a sentimental sense more burdensome upon a scattered population, who cannot see immediate results. The politicians perceived that, and were in no haste to increase general taxation for an undertaking that had not the support of a majority of the dominant element. The attempted compromise of permitting the county to decide for itself whether it should be taxed was a shifting of principle common to all compromises.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, i. 283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A system in some sections of providing for schools according to representation in the legislature worked an injustice, particularly where representation was limited to one class by a property qualification or by State apportionment.

The opposition to the general support of common schools was grounded in the belief that every man should educate his own child, and that the taxation of one class to educate the children of another was a species of "agrarianism," — a word employed in more ways than one to describe the spread of theories opposed to one grade of Southern opinion.

This belief did not imply a lack of practical interest in the welfare of the poorer classes. The Beresford Bounty School, the Winyaw Indigo Society, are examples of the philanthropic tendencies of the well-to-do. But there is much more satisfaction in voluntary philanthropy than in enforced contributions for the poor; and taxation for public schools was bringing a necessary evil too close to one's door. In the confusion of terminology and practice, the term "free school" degenerated from meaning the grammar, Latin, or liberal school, to a designation of an institution to which all were at liberty to send their children on equal terms, or of a charity or pauper school.

The opposition to the supplanting of the last-mentioned class by common schools with free tuition, or with tuition-fees much lower than those of private establishments, and provision for children unable to pay, came not only from those who were unwilling to be taxed for a system to which they would not commit their children, but also from the very class intended to be benefited. These were poor but proud; and, rather than have their children classed as paupers, they kept them at home, with no opportunities for education. Some persons, too, in the stress of real poverty, were unable to dispense with the services of their children

during the four or six months of the school-term. The feeling of pride was no doubt strengthened by the unwise insistence that the school-funds should be limited to the poor, and by the early legislation of Georgia, Virginia, and Delaware.

At their outset, therefore, the common schools served to intensify the unfortunate antagonism of class distinctions, which for the health of the State they should have diminished; and consequently the extension of the system was impeded. Advocates of it were in the beginning confronted by the problem of obtaining suitable teachers. Educated men were on the ground; but too frequently they were absorbed by the law, medicine, and the ministry, or were devoted to politics. When they did engage in teaching, they turned to the academy or the college; and they were inclined to raise the grade of their schools to the plane upon which they had been taught.

Thus the elementary branches were apt to be neglected by those competent to teach them. Latin and Greek were more popular studies than the sciences. As Garnett pointed out, "the business of instructing the rising generation, a business which requires minds of the very highest order," was therefore left to any who desired to undertake it, regardless of preparation. There was too much of patient plodding involved in the training of children in the rudiments for the average Southern-born man who would have been able to give such training; and so the pupil often fell into the hands of native incompetency, or of the roving product of the New England common-school system, who taught for a living, and who was unable to be in entire harmony with the

section in which he lived. But from the "old field school," with its old-fashioned method of discipline, calling for a liberal allowance of hickory, and its diversity of text-books, — where such articles were in use, — from the "Yankee" master, or from the half-educated native, were graduated men who became a power in their community.

The need of normal schools for natives was appreciated, but only the germs of them were developed, and not much more progress was made in obtaining a supply of native text-books. C. K. Marshall urged that the various State legislatures should place at the disposal of the executives from \$5,000 to \$10,000 for the encouragement of such publications; and in 1856 a convention requested such men as Professors Bledsoe, McGuffey, and Smith of Virginia; George E. Badger and D. L. Swain of North Carolina; Bishop Elliott, J. H. Cooper, and Dr. Alonzo Church of Georgia; John LeConte, J. H. Thornwell, J. W. Miles, Rev. Dr. Curtis of South Carolina; Ashbel Smith of Texas; A. B. Longstreet of Mississippi : L. C. Garland of Alabama : and Charles Gayarré of Louisiana, to undertake the task of selecting and preparing text-books, and asked the legislatures to adopt them for the Southern schools. No one doubted the ability of the South to produce the desired volumes; and Professor McGuffey's readers and spelling-books were regarded as labors of love in the cause of primary education. Up to 1856, few men in whose judgment and acquirements the South had confidence had undertaken such work. Books distinctively Southern began to appear later.

This agitation did not begin, however, until the line

of separation between the North and the South had become so marked as to be impressed upon text-books, and a desire to have home products was on a par with the demand that Southern students should not go to New England for their collegiate course. It came too late to have a wide-reaching effect.

One feature of Southern life not only retarded the growth of common schools, but also tended to lessen the totals in the educational statistics for that section. The custom of teaching at home was originally made necessary by the lack of school facilities. In many families the elementary education was obtained from tutors or governesses well equipped by Northern institutions, or from the mother, the one best qualified to mould the childish mind. Frequently two or three neighboring families would have the benefit of the same tutor or governess, who carried the pupils to the academic stage, and even beyond it. The census did not always include such pupils; but in the censuses of 1850 and 1860, returns of children at school were made by families as well as by institutions, and a considerable divergence between the two enumerations appeared. This may be explained partly by carelessness, or by the institutions reporting average attendance instead of the total number of pupils during the year: -

	1850.		1860.	
	BY INSTITUTIONS.	BY FAMILIES.	BY INSTITUTIONS.	BY FAMILIES,
South . ,	702,640	976,866	1,212,935	1,397,304
North	2,940,054	3,112,641	4,264,102	4,295,650
Total	3,642,694	4,089,507	5,477,037	5,692,954

But the main reason was the omission in the general figures of the element of home instruction, more prevalent in the South than in the North, as a comparison of the statistics will show. From the totals by institutions the previous deductions have been drawn. But the totals by families show that 28 per cent of the children under instruction in the South were not enumerated in 1850, and 15 per cent in 1860; while of those in the North but 5.5 per cent were omitted in 1850, and .7 per cent in 1860. Were the minute data obtainable they would, without doubt, point to the home school as the cause of some of the apparent disproportion in the South in the matter of elementary education.

At one time the theory was advanced that the social intercourse peculiar to the South compensated in some measure for its lack of schools. In 1839 Judge Upshur said, "Our Northern youth pass their leisure hours for the most part in schools or in listening to itinerant lecturers, who give them the mere surface of a thousand subjects, without imparting to them any solid information upon any. While they are thus employed in making themselves masters of the ideas of others, the Southern youth are freely thinking for themselves, and forming ideas of their own."1 Such a sentiment is hardly borne out by the facts of conservatism of ideas in the South, or by the statement of another Virginian a few years later, that a thorough culture of the mind was too much neglected, men being satisfied with superficial attainments. But it illustrates a theory which had no small following.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, v. 681.

A career at school or college may impair the native ability of some men, particularly when they are subjected to improperly conceived methods of education; intercourse with cultivated minds may partly counterbalance with superficiality the lack of mental discipline at school, and the solitude of agriculture may tend to a contemplative frame of mind. But the drawing-room, the hustings, the court-day gathering, while aiding to sharpen inherent wit and to furnish a certain collection of facts, could not teach a man to read and write. Here and there an individual might emerge from the mass by reason of the possession of brain-power that even an imperfect college education could not impair; but thinking out ideas was of little value if the logic was founded upon a false premise of ignorance. After all, though opportunities for social intercourse may have been in the South more educational because their comparative fewness made them more eagerly sought, the advantage of mingling with one's fellows must have been greater in the section of close population.

It cannot be gainsaid that, notwithstanding natural impediments and human drawbacks, the results of the educational system of the South were in some respects superior to those of the North. However many definitions may be given to education, no one will dispute that its chief aim is the happiness of the individual and the welfare of the community. Happiness is a quality dependent upon the individual view, and the general welfare is a term susceptible of different interpretations; but the aristocrat and the democrat will agree that the diminution of poverty and crime conduces to the general welfare, and that, in so far as education contributes to that diminution, it is a success.

In 1960 the census made a record of certain crimes of violence. The figures gave the South 247 homicides. during the year of 458 in the country. 281 murders of 33% and 42 energious of 62. Border life swelled the number of the crimes; but close settlement probably explains the fact of TR6 smidles in the North, and 266 in the South. Murder and suinile are the armes of human crime and misery; and were these statistics alone considered, they would lead to the belief that crime was more prevalent in the South, and misery in the North. Taking, though, the figures for crime and panperism for 1850 and 1860, a different status is revenled.1 In 1850 the South had I pumper for every 303 free inhabitants, and the North 1 for every 118. Massachusetts had I for every 63. Maine I for 119. New York 1 for 52, Virginia 1 for 185, Maryland 1 for 109. Arkansas 1 for 54. In the free States were more than 5 times as many purpers as in the South, and 8 times as many criminals. Ten years later the South had 25.181 passers, 1 for every 332 inhabitants, and 7,398 criminals, 1 for every 1,130; while in the North there was I purper for every 64 of the inhabitants, the total number being 296,484, and 1 criminal for every 208 inhabitants, the total being 91,438.

The increase of paupers in the North was more rapid than the increase of the population. In New York the number increased from 38,382 in 1835, to 72,000 in 1843, and in Massachusetts from 5,580 in 1836 to 18,693 in 1848, according to one estimate. Between 1850 and 1860 there was an increase in the North of 160 per cent, while the population advanced 41 per cent; in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix E, Table 7.

the South the population increased 29 per cent and pauperism 18 per cent. Benjamin F. Butler, as a candidate for governor, regaled his constituents with the statement that a larger proportion of the regiment that led the attack at Solferino came out unscathed than there were paupers who came out alive from his State's almshouses in 1858. He said that of the 2,700 inmates, 666 died, 341 of them being children under five years of age. In the North the paupers were not always consigned to almshouses. Connecticut towns, for instance, turned over their paupers to the man who would take them for the lowest terms for the year. One observer mentioned a batch of 60 men and women disposed of at the rate of \$15 a head. That is, the contractor who took them charged the town but \$15 a year board for them. He lodged his paupers in a one-story house with attic, twenty-five by thirty feet, and worked them upon economic food. In the South it was not unusual to find almshouses deserted; but yet the average cost of keeping paupers was more than twice that in the North, in spite of such expedients as that employed at Charleston, where the expense for paupers for five years, ended in 1849, was \$100,707.34, and where gradually the amount derived from working the paupers at cracking stones for street-paving became almost great enough to maintain them. In both sections the majority of inmates of the poorhouse were more than twenty-four, or less than fourteen, years old. A great percentage of illiteracy and of pauperism at the · North was due to the foreign element; but the percentage of pauperism between 1850 and 1860 was greater than the percentage of illiteracy. In the whole North

in 1860 were 15,976 more foreign paupers than native ones. New York, with the greatest number in the country, had 79,144 native and 85,641 foreign paupers. Massachusetts had 18,010 native and 33,870 foreign; Illinois, 1,658 native, and 2,970 foreign. The whole South had but 2,044 more foreign paupers than Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire alone.

The criminal situation was similar, though in 1860 the foreign element furnished 48 per cent in the South, and 68 per cent in the North, of the crime; and yet there were nearly eight times the number of native criminals in the North as in the South.

The criminal code of the South was enlarged by the presence of slavery, and it might be imagined that there the free blacks would have contributed greatly to the number of offenders. The inmates of prisons and penitentiaries on June 1, 1850, were as follows:—

	WHITE.		NEGRO.	
	NATIVE.	FOREIGN.	NATIVE.	FOREIGN.
South	988	370	322	1
North	2,271	1,129	565	21
Total	3,259	1,499	887	22

These totals are less than others given in another table of the census of that year, but they will serve to illustrate the general conditions. They show that the proportion of negroes in prison to the negro population was greater in the North than in the South, though they contributed in a greater degree to the total in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1837 Massachusetts had eight capital offences, and Virginia had thirteen. There were variations in other States.

South. They constituted 18 per cent of Southern criminals, and 14 per cent of Northern ones. Massachusetts had 139 negroes and 1,507 whites in jails, penitentiaries, and houses of correction, on June 1, 1850. One-eleventh of the number of prisoners were negroes. Virginia had 95 negroes and 227 whites in prison or reformatory. Two per cent of the inmates of almshouses in Massachusetts and 12 per cent in Virginia were negroes. But the free negroes of Virginia were more than twice as numerous as those in all New England, and six times as many as in Massachusetts. One in every 102 negroes in Massachusetts was in the almshouse, and one in 292 in Virginia.

In this connection, slaves have been practically disregarded. Few survived in the North; and in the South they were rarely permitted to become a burden upon the State. The black slave who stole from his master was punished upon the plantation. The white employee of the North who stole was punished by the State. The South, while burdened with the majority of free negroes, escaped in great measure the criminal class immigrating from Europe. Its code may have been more severe; but its thin settlement not only made concealment of minor crimes more easy, but lessened the incentives to crime, with the exception of crimes of violence in communities where men take the law into their own hands, no matter in what section they may be.

At that time a retired lawyer was criticising the revival in some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Henry Ruffner, president of Washington College, Va., made a trip to Tennessee in 1838, and stated that, during a ride of more than 400 miles through the most populous parts of the State, with frequent stops, he saw but one drunken man, and rarely heard profane language.

The South had thousands of inhabitants who were poor. In the North they would have become the class from which has been evolved the tramp. But comparatively few were poor enough to be willing to go to the almshouse. Moreover, the climate enabled men on the

quarters of "Lynch's Law," which he defined as wreaking private vengeance, or of inflicting summary and illegal punishment for crimes actual or pretended. "Lynch's Law" had its origin in an organization in Pittsylvania County, Va., in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The agreement, called after its author, Colonel William Lynch, was as follows:—

"Whereas, many of the inhabitants of the county of Pittsylvania, as well as elsewhere, have sustained great and intolerable losses by a set of lawless men who have banded themselves together to deprive honest men of their just rights and property by stealing their horses, counterfeiting and passing paper currency, and committing many other species of villany too tedious to be mentioned, and that those vile miscreants do still persist in their diabolical practices, and have hitherto escaped the civil power with impunity, it being almost useless and unnecessary to have recourse to our laws to suppress and punish those freebooters, they having it in their power to extricate themselves when brought to justice, by suborning witnesses who do swear them clear - we, the subscribers, being determined to put a stop to the iniquitous practices of those unlawful and abandoned wretches, do enter into the following association; to wit, that, next to our consciences, soul, and body, we hold our rights and property sacred and inviolable. We solemnly protest before God and the world, that (for the future) upon hearing or having sufficient reason to believe that any villany or species of villany having been committed in our neighborhood, we will forthwith embody ourselves, and repair immediately to the person or persons suspected, or those under suspicious characters, harboring, aiding, or assisting those villains; and if they will not desist from their evil practices, we will inflict such corporeal punishment on him or them, as to us shall seem adequate to the crime committed or the damage sustained; that we will protect and defend every one of us, the subscribers, as well

outskirts of civilization to exist with less personal exertion than in the North. House-rent and fuel were hardly reckoned among the annual expenses; and the soil, left to the squatter or the small renter, may have been too poor for cotton, but some kind of corn could be raised on it. Hence the influence to pauperism was not as great in the South as elsewhere.

jointly as severally, from the insults and assaults offered by any other person in their behalf; and further, we do bind ourselves jointly and severally, our joint and several heirs, etc., to pay or cause to be paid all damages that shall or may accrue in consequence of this our laudable undertaking, and will pay an equal proportion according to our several abilities; and we, after having a sufficient number of subscribers to this association, will convene ourselves to some convenient place, and will make choice of our body of five of the best and most discreet men belonging to our \*body, to direct and govern the whole, and we will strictly adhere to their determinations in all cases whatsoever relative to the above undertaking; and if any of our body be summoned to attend the execution of this our plan, and fail so to do without a reasonable excuse, they shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds current money of Virginia, to be appropriated toward defraying the contingent expense of this undertaking. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, the 22d day of September, 1780."

1 Indirectly the statistics of insanity and idiocy throw some light upon the subject of relative happiness. In 1840 the white insane and idiotic in the United States numbered one for every 978 in the population. In the South the ratio was one in 944, and in the North one in 995. In 1850 the ratio was one in 661 of the free population in the South, and one in 672 in the North; and in 1860 it was one in 686 in the South, and one in 665 in the North. Free negroes helped to swell the proportion in the North. The ratio for the whole population, including slaves, was one in 1,104 in the South, and one in 902 in the North, in 1840, one in 856, and one in 869, in the South in 1850 and 1860 respec-

With all allowances for the differences between the sections for their advantages and disadvantages, the fact remains that the common school system of the North did not retard the growth of pauperism and crime, as may have been expected, and that these menaces of civilization were not disproportionately enhanced by the illiteracy in the South. Already there had begun to be shown in the free States the effects of a common school education, that made it easy for the foreign-born to take the places of natives in occupations requiring no book-learning, and which prepared its thousands for a higher plane of life, without modifying society sufficiently for their accommodation. The day of the many persons qualified and the few opportunities had begun contemporaneously with the development of whilom luxuries into necessities. For generations in the South, the few alone had been given opportunities to become qualified for leadership; few large cities existed to nurse crime, to excite to discontent, and to spread their natural and moral miasma over the country.

As long as a man is contented, he is happy; and as long as he is happy, he is not moved against his neighbor. A man may be poor and without book-learning, and yet be contented and educated. Another may have an education, in the popular acceptance of that word, and yet really be uneducated. He may have millions of money, and yet be discontented. Real progress is the child of a proper discontent; and conservatism may be confounded with the inaction of self-satisfied igno-

tively, the ratios in the North for those years not being appreciably different from those already quoted. [See Appendix E, Table 8.]

rance. No great movement of humanity is an unadulterated good. Reverting, then, to the primary purpose of education, and granting that the machinery for elementary education of the North was in its conception superior to that of the South, the student of the whole situation cannot avoid the conclusion that the South showed the better condition in comparative freedom from pauperism, crime, and discontent, among the masses of the free population. The discontent with national affairs was born of the educated class.

As to the higher education, it is only necessary to recall the names of alumni of many colleges and universities to give the South a place of honor, even omitting those men who finished their college careers above Mason and Dixon's line, to return to their section for real life. From the University of Virginia went forth teachers to all parts of the South, cabinet officers, speakers of the House, bishops, governors, and men prominent in public affairs. North Carolina University furnished a president and a vice-president of the United States, senators, judges, and diplomats; and while there are some instances of Southerners who touched the heights of fame and usefulness without having enjoyed the higher education, the South may take a just pride - in the devotion to its interests, the sagacity, and the achievements, of those who entered active life from its colleges and preparatory schools.

## CHAPTER VI.

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## LITERARY ASPIRATIONS.

LITERATURE produced by a people is usually a criterion of their character. In the case of the South this assertion needs qualification. Its literary history was made by a small majority, if not by a minority, of the white population, and consequently should be viewed with special reference to that portion of the community. But without a knowledge of the publications belonging to the South, and of the reading habits of its people, no adequate conception of American literature may be had.

Between 1830 and 1840 a distinct American literature had only begun to thrive. Equality of native genius to that of England, France, or Germany was not justly disputed. But genius had been occupied in developing a nation from scattered seaboard colonies. It had in its cultivated form expressed itself chiefly in politics and law. The change from statesmanship in national affairs to politics probably accounts for the fact that newspapers increased more rapidly than literary periodicals from 1834 to 1837. Authorship as a profession was just beginning to be recognized. In 1822, it is estimated, not more than ten men in the United States lived by their pens. This estimate does not, of course, include the writers for the press. Fifteen years later their number may have been greater, but they were to be found principally in States north of the Potomac. Men whose

works will always stand in the front rank had begun to write; but the taunt of a British magazine, "Who reads an American book?" still rankled, and was not entirely unfounded. Literary prejudices had been born, but not between the original sections. "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" was a question applied by the East to the West.

Professor George Tucker of the University of Virginia, speaking at a time when it was thought that emulation between the North and the South, previously expressed in efforts to obtain the mastery in national politics, would be diverted into the more profitable rivalry of letters, placed the writings of Marshall, Madison, Ramsey, Hawks, Allston, Lee, Kennedy, Wirt, Jefferson, and other Southerners, in the same category as those of Livingston, Kent, Story, Adams, Bancroft, Dwight, Halleck, Bryant, Willis, Paulding, Cass, and Everett; and named the Southern Literary Messenger as the companion of the Knickerbocker and the Mirror.

The record of the next generation was hardly one of rivalry between the sections as book-makers, but rather one of quickening literary aspirations in which men of both parts of the country shared. In the South, aspirations were not so manifest, because population was more scanty, and because sentimental and practical difficulties supervened. Southern men and women had the purpose to write; they felt the impulse to sustained effort in literature; but not always were they willing to print, not always was a publisher at hand. And when they gave their work to the world with a degree of modesty remarkable in a section

where the self-assertion of the professional politician and orator was wide-spread, they frequently avoided publicity by resorting to the nom de plume.

Some persons wrote with no intention of publishing. but merely to gratify their instincts. Others intended their volumes for circulation only among personal friends. James Barron Hope preferred to write at first as the literary executor of Henry Ellen. Beverly Tucker wrote his novels by way of relaxation; and his famous "Partisan Leader," a remarkable prophecy of conditions in Virginia at the outbreak of the war, appeared in the thirties as having been written by "Edward William Bidney," and by some persons was attributed to Abel P. Upshur, Tucker's friend, who later entered Tyler's cabinet. Several writers excused their ventures by announcing that they were written to fill an interval of leisure which the authors could not devote to reading, or for rest and entertainment when fatigued by professional labors, or when bad weather prevented out-of-doors exercise. One writer would be described as being in the habit of "throwing off such scraps at idle times without effort and without pretension;" and another offered his verses for publication only at the request of friends.

Self-depreciation was apparent in those who gave promise of immortality. Philip Pendleton Cooke, in writing to an acquaintance that "Florence Vane" had come to his mind one spring morning as he was walking in a flower-garden and heard his young wife singing in an old country house, said that he could not understand the hold that "so slight a work" had taken upon the public. After his early death it was said that, "fame was with him not a spur to scorn delights and live labo-

rious days, but rather a reward only too little merited for such efforts as he felt it a duty to put forth in literature in recognition of the high powers which he knew he possessed."<sup>1</sup>

Richard H. Wilde, associated with the history of Georgia in his manhood, kept secret his authorship of the lines, "My life is like the summer rose," until he felt that it was necessary for him to deny that they had been written by others.

This diffidence was a result of a feeling on the part of both writers and readers that literature had a higher office than that of supplying the means of livelihood. In a region where the lawyer dominated in the domain of intellect, as much because of his connection with State affairs as because of anything else, it was difficult both for the educated professional man to resist the charm offered in a public career, and for his fellows to realize that he might be as serviceable to the community with his pen as with his tongue. That men should write for money, unless they were connected with the press, seemed to require at one time an apology. The spur of necessity to make a living by the pen was absent for many who would have been qualified to do so; and in some quarters the author was regarded as an inferior order of man. "A man who has sense enough to write a book," wrote a Virginian in 1834, "very often has too much sense to publish it." That is very true in part; but the intent of the observation was indicated in the subsequent statement that few Virginians pub-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Interesting glimpses of the personal and literary life of Cooke are given in volumes xvi. 370, xvii. 669, and xxvi. 419 of the Southern Literary Messenger.

Indeed into those win should be correctedly outsided the use of the pen and this, and that the literary recommon of the Sale had never confered much from scribbers. Some a work he thirty years could not prevent a support discussion in Charlesons about the confidential to write fingilish; and this last to the commons. To shall expect to lear soon that the good recome at Section are in limit as to Mr. Langiellaw's apparatures with the appliance.

When will the people of the South learn to Tow and immediate sorthing lineary men.

In 1857 John R. Thompson, who know his section well, took a brighter view of the situation wines liewrote, "The literary men are regarded with greater consideration than formerly, and are not now come and to malk upder the high layer politicians, and peop account to find themselves distanguable graves. This getting tobe thought that a man may perhaps accomplish as readifire the South by writing a good book as he making a successful stemp speedly that he who contributes to the enjoyment of his fellow-citizens by a larry posses thipse their convictions by a powerful way, is not an tille framer merely; and that the pen devoted in the treatment of subjects out of the range of politics and commercial activities is as usefully employed as the longue which is exercised in the wearsome declaration of legislative balla bes

Southern anthers were hampered by difficience, by timin inherent in themselves, and by their stanstances. Many of the aspirants for time in the school

Direction Library Messager, rain 115.

THE TEXT SHEET

of fiction and poetry were accused of a lack of fertility, of material, and originality of style. In the midst of nature and with a history full of romance, they with difficulty overcame the influence of old-world models, particularly Scott, Moore, and Byron. Scott deeply affected, not only the earlier Southern literature, but also Southern life; for the character of Scott's works appealed strongly to a civilization that gave the title of "A Southern Refrain" to George P. Morris's poem beginning,—

"Near the lake where drooped the willow Long time ago."

G. P. R. James, the pupil of Scott, was a resident of the South for several years as British Consul at Norfolk and Richmond; and that he was admired personally and as an author may have strengthened the Scott cult. That Cooke, Baldwin, Longstreet, Bagby, Legaré, Meek, Havne, Hope, and Simms had done much to lay the foundations for a healthy Southern literature did not prevent the criticism that certain manuscripts were not available for a Southern magazine because they aped the style of the weakest English novels, and treated of matters in which but one person in a million was interested. "Why will Southern writers." asked the editor, "persist in drawing from bad models instead of from nature?" Twenty-five years before the hope had been expressed that the native writers would confine their efforts to native subjects, throwing aside the trammels of foreign reading, and selecting from the copious materials abounding in their own country.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xxxi. 155.

When they did write, some authors could not escape a certain kind of dilettanteism; they were inclined, as one critic expressed it, to rely too much upon mere rude strength and coarse vigor, and "to despise the labor lime as an occupation fit only for the intellectual drudge." With difficulty they avoided the essay style even in fiction; and though the essay, like its rhetorical kinsman, the oration, often displayed a profundity of knowledge and a logical philosophy, it was often wearisome in its wordiness and in its confusion of pedantry with learning.

Another drawback upon authorship was described rather contemptuously in 1837 in the sentence, "We have no great cities on this side of the Potomac, and therefore no mobs, civil or literary." When slaves and many of the no-property class of whites were excluded from consideration in estimates of the reading population, their number was comparatively small and scattered. While the retirement of a plantation and the independence of fortune may have been conducive to reflection requisite for an enduring literature, their very existence may have contributed to mental indolence and a lack of ambition to write anything but pastimes. The towns, too, reflected plantation life, and added but little to the total population of the States.

But the growth of any literature in modern times is dependent upon close settlement. Authorship may be best developed in solitude, and the reading habit best formed among persons removed from the bustle of every-day life; but for the encouragement of undertakings that give the works of authors to the world are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, iii. 532.

needed an affinity of interests among a large number of people, and the stirring of the intellect by contact of readers of many classes, whether they be called a "literary mob" or a body of educated men and women. It is not surprising that the Southern Muse indulged in long naps, with but short intervals of waking, as a South Carolinian put it, or that as late as 1838 the criticism was justly made that the writing of the history of Virginia had not advanced beyond the merest annals. Appeals from those who were endeavoring to build up a local literature against such heavy odds served little purpose except to present an inferential picture of the times. In 1838 it was suggested that in the South there were country gentlemen of means and education who by subscribing to a dozen or half a dozen periodicals might diffuse a taste for recreation in literature in their neighborhoods. But the question was asked. "How few of our families are reading ones in the strict sense of the term? Besides the newspaper, the Farmer's Register, the Sporting Magazine, and the year's almanac, a few trashy novels constitute, it is feared, the major part of the libraries of our otherwise social, agreeable, and hospitable country houses. If our squires won't read themselves, why don't they provide solid and substantial nutriment for their wives, sons, and daughters?

Again in 1843 regret was expressed that an Ingraham, a Wilde, a Meek, and a Lieber should seek so often a Northern theatre for the display of their culture; and a young editor exclaimed, "How glad to us will be the day when an ardent, liberal love of learning shall have

<sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, v. 708; ix. 575,

supplanted some of the hobbies of Southern intellect, have roused its sudden energies, and imparted a taste for purest joys and sweetest solaces!" Between 1843 and 1850 correspondence to the South from New York showed another phase of the situation. The booksellers of the metropolis told one writer that the most costly and recherché portion of the invoices they received from Europe went to the old mansions on the banks of the James and the Savannah, and on the bluffs of the Mississippi; and that the South was supporting by its patronage much of the Northern periodical literature. The ruling class of the South were readers, but they seemed to prefer to read something produced beyond their borders.

Plantation life developed an individualism that was as pronounced in literary leanings as in other matters. It was conducive to conservatism, which valued English masters, not merely because they had been prized by one or two generations, but because they were superior to many of the growing American school; and this habit naturally degenerated into a patronage of new English writers because they were English. This fashion received a rebuke from one editor. Condemning "the shallow, vain, and heartless title-tattle of the self-styled beau monde and corps élite of society," he said, "It is but too common for our leading men, professional as well as others, to affect something like a sneer at every attempt in the walks of polite literature. Their example, we fear, has imparted a tone to the reading circles generally, and has served to beget that inordinate appetite for everything foreign which has either obtained a fashionable currency abroad, or occasioned some excitement in that busy, noisy, gossiping class of society, whose noise is so vastly disproportionate to its influence."

At the same time, too much was expected of native writers by those who perhaps had enjoyed in youth the family library stocked with specimens of the best in European literature, or whose tastes had been formed under the sway of the well-stored minds of their parents. To the calm statement that children should not be allowed to reach maturity in the belief that the intellectual wealth of New England was superior to that of the Southern States, was added the excited rhetoric, "We have been too long tributary to the North; it is time, high time, to awake from our lethargy, to rise in the majesty of our intellectual strength, to put on the panoply of talents and genius, and strike for 'the prize of the high calling' in literature." <sup>2</sup>

Bishops Leonidas Polk and Stephen Elliott, in their address to the people of the South upon the subject of the University of the South, wrote, "Labor is performed among us by a caste; and there is, in consequence, a large body of men who can devote themselves to the elegancies of literature, and to such a culture as shall make their homes the envy of all lands. The world is trying hard to persuade us that a slaveholding people cannot be a people of high moral and intellectual culture. Because for the last seventy years, in the necessity which has laid upon us for hewing down our forests and settling our wildernesses, we have been neglectful of the details of literature, the world has

<sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, i. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., 127.

come to suppose, and has worked the impression in upon ourselves, that our institutions are unfavorable to literary development. Before this position can be established, the literature of the Hebrews, a slaveholding people by the direct permission of God, must be blotted from the Book of Life." The feeling that, because some slaveholding communities had produced enduring works, the South should also do so, or that a section that had given the whole country statesmen and military leaders, could, ipso facto, give birth to a national literature, was, unfortunately, much stronger than the substantial aid offered in the time of travail.

Occasionally the belief was expressed that a combination of writers in the North were determined to restrict the chances of Southerners for recognition in that direction. The reception given to Simms in New York in the fall of 1856, the policy of the "Brothers in Unity" of Yale in their index to periodicals, of Griswold, Dana, and other editors of literary material. led to a complaint that a cabal, or coterie, of authors, at one time in New York, and at another in the neighborhood of Harvard, were inclined to keep all the honors among themselves. There were but few grounds for such an insinuation. Beyond the Potomac men were as ready to avail themselves of the advantages of co-operation in literature as in everything else. The absence of such co-operation, especially on the part of readers, may have been one of the main causes of the slow growth of a Southern literature. Complaints of antagonism in the North to Southern authors, while possibly applicable to individuals, probably reflected the inexperience of the

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvi. 544.

complainants, for they cannot stand firmly against the facts regarding the mass. Certainly the announcement of the publishers of the "New American Cyclopedia," edited by Dana and Ripley, was of a most friendly tone, and a list of the contributors shows that it was sincere. "The greatest pains have been taken by the editors," said the publishers, "to secure to all sections of the country a full and fair representation in the pages of the Cyclopedia. They are impelled to impartiality both by self-interest and by their sense of right and justice. The republic of letters knows no North and no South, no East and no West; and no respectable literary man could for a moment so far forget himself in the conduct of such a work as to show or feel any sectional partiality." <sup>1</sup>

But publishers were included in the anti-Southern combination that was largely a creature of the imagination. One writer in pessimistic style bemoaned a situation where, as he said, opinions, like books, were furnished by those who preferred that Southerners should not supply themselves. "The chances are always unequal," said he, "in the case of a Southern author, who stands almost alone, whom no literary clique or community protects, and who, in addition to the fact that he intrudes upon those who aim at a monopoly of the manufacture, makes himself odious by the intense devotion which he shows to the interest, the institutions, and the histories of his own section." <sup>2</sup>

The truth is, that not only did Southern authors seek Northern publishers, but also that in many instances

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxviii. 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xiii. 251.

they were given encouragement; and it is not reasonable to imagine that publishers before the war were different from modern ones, or that they permitted any consideration of sectionality of the author to control them in deciding whether it would pay them to publish a particular book. At seventeen years of age, while he was still at college, Philip Pendleton Cooke was writing for the Knickerbocker, whose editor gave no stinted praise to Wilde upon his Florentine discovery.1 Maury was a contributor to Silliman's Journal, published at New Haven; John R. Thompson wrote for the Literary World and for the Knickerbocker; and W. J. Hubard, the Richmond artist, sketched at Longfellow's request the illustrations for the poems, "Footsteps of Angels," and "The Skeleton in Armor." For more than twenty-five years the works of Southerners issued from the Northern presses, and within a few months of 1860 thirty-two works of Southern authors, representing Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky, were published by two New York houses.2

<sup>1</sup> Wilde withdrew from active politics after service in Congress to go to Europe to study the literature of Italy. The result of his stay there was his research in the life of Tasso, and his discovery of an authentic portrait of Dante, drawn by Giotto on the wall of the Bargello at Florence.

<sup>2</sup> The list of Northern publishers of Southern works before the war and some of the volumes issued includes the following: A. Hart, Philadelphia, J. B. Hart's "Mississippi Scenes;" Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, Howison's "History of Virginia," Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz's poems; Harper & Brothers, New York, Gayarré's "Louisiana," Robert Tyler's "Ahasuerus," Hungerford's "Old Plantation," Wallis's "Glimpses of Spain," John Esten Cooke's "Leather Stocking and Silk," Strother's "Virginia Illustrated;" Appleton & Co., New York, Gayarré's

Southern publishers, like Nesbit & Walker, P. D. Barnard, J. W. Randolph, George West, of Richmond, William and Joseph Neal, and John Murphy, of Baltimore, Walker & Richards, and S. G. Courtenay & Co., of Charleston, did their best as mediums of exchange between readers and writers. But they were at a disadvantage. The closer population of the North made

"Romance of Louisiana," Thomas R. Dew's "Digest of Ancient and Modern History," a posthumous issue, Rev. Dr. William Pinkney's "Life of William Pinkney," Baldwin's "Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi," Mrs. Welby's poems, T. B. Thorpe's "Hive of the Bee-Hunter," Cooke's "Virginia Comedians," A. B. Meek's "Red Eagle;" J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, Campbell's "History of Virginia," Colonel P. St. George Cooke's "Scenes and Adventures in the Army," Bishop Meade's "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," William Archer Cooke's "Constitutional History of the United States;" Ticknor & Co., Boston, volumes of poems by J. M. Legaré, Henry Timrod, and Paul Hamilton Hayne; Little & Brown, Boston, Munford's translation of the Iliad, Tucker's "Principles of Pleading," Rives's "Life of Madison;" George P. Putnam, New York, Strother's illustrated edition of Kennedy's "Swallow Barn," Schele De Vere's "Outlines of Comparative Philology;" Baker & Scribner, New York, Allston's "Miscellaneous Writings;" Charles Scribner, New York, "Apheila, and other poems," by Thomas Bibb Bradley and Julia Pleasants; John S. Taylor, New York, Fontaine's " Tales of the Huguenots;" Edward S. Biddle, Philadelphia, Maury's "Navigation;" Wiley & Putnam, New York, Simms's "Views and Reviews of American History;" John S. Littell, Philadelphia, John Taylor Lomax's "Digest of the Laws of Real Property;" Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, Kennedy's "L'fe of Wirt," Lynch's "Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to the River Jordan." With these, perhaps, should be included Foote's "Sketches of North Carolina" and his "Sketches of Virginia," the former published by Robert Carter, and the latter by J. B. Lippincott.

the publishing business more certain there than in the South.

At intervals efforts were made in different forms to arouse the people to a sense of their condition. The historical societies in several States, the lyceums here and there, the scientific associations, the college debating societies, and the library associations were indications of a co-operative literary spirit, hampered, however, by strong social instincts, and the obstacles to regular and largely attended meetings.

Magazines, rallying places for readers and writers, were issued from time to time; but they met with failure or only temporary success. At Mobile, New Orleans, Memphis, Charleston, St. Louis, Augusta, Richmond, Petersburg, and Baltimore, were born such periodicals as the Mirror, the Western Monthly, the Literary Gazette, the Magnolia, the Orion, the Field and Fireside, the Ladies' Book, the Western Continent, the Compiler, the Eclectic, the Kaleidoscope, Russell's, and the Southern Parlor Magazine. They were ephemeral; and about the only three of high standing in the South were the Southern Literary Messenger of Richmond, the Southern Quarterly Review of Charleston, and De Bow's Commercial Review of New Orleans.

The first was published continuously for thirty years, and deserved a better financial success than it obtained. It was an American magazine, drawing its material and its subscriptions from all sections, and sharing with the Knickerbocker a national and European reputation. The second was more of the character of an English review, interesting, but at times ponderous. It was evolved a few years before the third publication, and expired in

the midst of the excitement of the fifties. De Bow's Review was primarily statistical. Its editor founded it when he was hardly of age, but sustained it with everwidening range until the great issue became of first importance.

Their many excellences were not sufficient to overcome the competition of similar publications in other parts of the country; and their experience was no variation from the normal literary life in their section. The best efforts could not obtain the support that they merited. De Bow said in 1853 that his subscription list was nearly as large in New York as in New Orleans, and that the sale of his "Industrial Statistics" had been sixfold as large north of the Potomac as below it. South often subscribes to its own literature." he wrote two years later, with italics for the verbs, "but pays for (because that is the rule) the literature of the North;" and he apologized for the appearance of Northern advertisements in his magazine on the ground that he could not obtain such in the South, and that the considerable portion of the income of the Review was derived from that source. "If the Southern people would bestow on their own literary organs," said one writer, "but a moiety of the patronage they so freely extend to the periodicals of the Northern States, it would keep alive half-a-dozen magazines in the front rank of letters." Thompson, in illustration of this propensity, wrote at one time that the greater portion of the paper used in the Messenger was purchased from a mill in Richmond, purely from a disposition to encourage home manufactures, and yet that but one director of the establishment was a subscriber to the magazine. Later, when the

relations between the North and the South were temporarily severed, it was said in reference to the earlier period, that "Southern patriotism was never proof against Northern newspapers and picture magazines. . . It enables a man to abuse the Yankees, to curse the Yankees, to fight the Yankees, to do everything but quit taking the Yankee papers." 1

Thompson had exerted himself in vain to stir up a spirit of pride in his Southern publication in emulation of the achievements of the North. But his appeals were to no purpose, even when bearing upon the payment of just dues to the magazine in moments of necessity; and frequently, he said, it had depended for mere subsistence upon the minority of its readers.

Literature could not depend upon the masses, for population was thin and not easily reached. Men of culture preferred, it was said, the foreign quarterlies, because they cost no more than the home productions, and were infinitely better. When they subscribed to Northern periodicals, they were influenced by the habit of looking to the North for the latest news, literary and scientific, because it came first to New York or Boston, and by the existence of close business connections between the two sections. With weekly lines of steamers touching at all Atlantic ports, the Northern magazines were enabled to appear before the Southern ones in the book-stores below the Potomac.

The press was accused of having sadly neglected the literature of its section; and the Charleston Courier described this neglect as follows:—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 590; Southern Literary Messenger, xxiii. 306; xxxiii. 237.

"We ask of our editorial brethren if they do not perceive generally throughout their exchange list more full and more frequent references to Northern than to Southern magazines? And we ask further if this discrimination is not found to be increasing in favor of the Northern magazines in proportion as we recede from the great lines and routes of travel and communication? How common is it to meet a 'Backwoods' exchange, whose first page is occupied week after week with tales from some namby-pamby vehicle of rosewater literature and sentimental syllabub? How common is it to find offers of clubbing, flaring, and glaring announcements of prospectus, etc., in favor or behalf of Northern magazines?" 1

Those offers for clubbing and those prospectuses, the seduction of the people "by agents of trashy literature," as Governor Hammond viewed it, — forgetting in his tilt at the North that he was doing the intelligence of his section an injustice, — revealed the real agency against Southern literary enterprise — deficiency of capital and business tact.

The motto, ascribed to Poe's influence, upon the title-page of Messenger, "Au gré de nos desirs bien plus qu'au gré des vents," — As we will, not as the winds, — was significant of the general tendency. The motto is hardly one that the modern advertiser would adopt. But the Southern ideal in literature was to let a work rest upon its intrinsic merit. The New York publishers knew how to gain wide notice for what they had for sale. They understood the value of prompt appearance of their publications in all parts of the country. If their readers desired illustrations, they furnished them, whatever may have been their own private taste. They used the works of Southerners when they thought it

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiii. 447.

would pay them to do so. They were in search of success; and they knew that they could not secure it by beating the air and imploring support on the grounds that their magazine was sectional. Their methods were business ones.

That marked the difference between the two sections in more than one department of literature.

Notwithstanding all the drawbacks, the South, during the twenty or thirty years before the war, gave to the world a coterie of book-makers, essayists, and poetizers, comparatively few in reputation, meeting, perhaps, the fate of the prophet in his own country, and not always fulfilling the requirements of latter-day criticism. But the mass of them compared favorably with the mass of their Northern brethren, and some gained a permanent place in American letters.

Simms, with his store of knowledge, his gift of language, devotion to his section, versatility of expression, whether in romance, history, or philosophy, and with his determination to follow his profession, was pre-eminently the Southern litterateur of his day. John P. Kennedy's gift was of secondary importance to him, yet his works are among the masterpieces. Edgar Allan Poe was associated by education and residence with the South, and in Baltimore and Richmond laid the foundation of his unique career. But Poe belongs to the world, and his writings may be classed in no school. Simms's life extended from the days of Stephen Elliott, Hugh S. Legaré, and William Wirt, to those of the new school of post-bellum writers; and many a younger writer shared with him the honor of representing the South.

At eighteen Philip Pendleton Cooke was publishing essays upon English poetry; later, his Froissart ballads appeared, together with critical articles of current interest, sketches of out-of-doors life, and such fiction as "John Carper," "The Gregories of Hackwood," and "The Crime of Andrew Blair." He followed with greater culture the trail of Kercheval, the chronicler of the Shenandoah Valley; he combined the sportsman and the author; the turkey-hunter had his literary closet; and he could not escape being a poet, as he was a born lover of nature, and lived within sight of the Blue Ridge. It was not unusual for him, when ideas came to him on a hunting-trip, to use for manuscript purposes the paper he had stowed in his hat for gunwadding.

Joseph G. Baldwin's "Flush Times in Alabama," published serially at first, went through seven editions aggregating twenty thousand copies in less than a year when appearing in book form; and a second edition of A. B. Longstreet's "Georgia Scenes" followed close upon the first. These two men, with Dr. George W. Bagby, the gentle satirist and pure humorist, came nearer than any other writers to what Dr. Bagby considered a rarity, — "the man who can paint with pen and ink the real life around him, this Southern life, rich with every element of humor and pathos." 1

Matthew F. Maury, though not a literary man by profession, wrote as "Harry Bluff" his "Scraps From the Lucky Bag," a series of sketches of life in the navy, reminiscences of many officers in their prime before 1840, and suggestions for the improvement of the American

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, xxxi., 106.

sea forces. He elaborated, too, with much technical knowledge and pleasant diction schemes for the upbuilding of Southern commerce, for steam navigation to China, and for a railroad across the Isthmus of Darien.

Professor George Fred. Holmes, in addition to his university duties, was prolific of essays, criticism, and biography. Washington Allston, in pleasant Northern exile, was skilful with the pen as with the brush. S. Teackle Wallis recalled in his style and his topics, Spain, the land where he had enjoyed excellent opportunities for study. John R. Thompson, successful as a literary traveller and editor, was one of a group of poets which included Henry Timrod, Paul H. Hayne, J. M. Legaré, and Thomas Bibb Bradley; and two of his poems, "The Burial of Latané" and "Music in Camp," written at a later date, are sufficient to give him enduring fame.

John Esten Cooke, with his "Comedians;" Marion Harland, whose books soon had a reputation on two continents; Augusta J. Evans, whose "Beulah" went through fifteen editions in three months; and Caroline Lee Hentz, devoting her pen to a defence of Southern society, - also obtained prominence in Southern literature before the war. With them stood Jere Clemens, A. B. Meek, George W. Thompson, of Alabama; W. M. Stanton and J. E. Leigh of Tennessee; Sidney Dyer and J. W. Matthews of Kentucky; Maria G. Milward and W. S. Bogart of Georgia; William C. Rives, Wyndham Robertson, Susan Archer Talley, Julia Mayo Cabell, Mary J. Upshur, R. R. Howison, Charles Campbell, W. N. Pendelton, Thos. R. Dew, John Collins McCabe, and George Fitzhugh, of Virginia; Francis L. Hawks of North Carolina; Mary E. Lee, S. H. Dickson, and for a

time Francis Lieber, of South Carolina; J. N. McJilton, George H. Calvert, of Maryland; J. E. Knight of Arkansas; R. W. Bailey of Texas; and a brigade of minor writers.

Mention should also be made of the many men and women who modestly concealed the authorship of their writings contributed to magazines and newspapers, or who were satisfied when they had committed their thoughts to the privacy of their commonplace books.

With some the literary instinct found expression in addresses before college societies or other organizations. The fugitive verses of others were welcomed to periodicals; and many recorded in graceful language their experiences, whether they were spending a week on the Great Smoky in Carolina, making an overland journey to Siam, hunting the condor in Chili, or seeking amusement in European travel, or in trips to New England or the new States of the West.

The Southern mind was brought into touch with that of the North, and of Europe, through the wide circulation of books and periodicals from Boston, New York, London, and Paris. Local magazines published original and selected poems and extracts from the writings of Longfellow, Paulding, Aldrich, Bryant, English, Willis, Sigourney, and others of the North. Many of the essays of Henry T. Tuckerman, Park Benjamin, Charles Lanman, together with Donald G. Mitchell's "Reveries of a Bachelor," first saw the light in the Messenger; and the appearance of new works on the other side of the Atlantic, as Tennyson, Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer, Sue, Dumas, "Owen Meredith," and Hugo gained prominence, was promptly announced in reviews that

were in many instances characterized by a discriminating judgment which subsequent years sustained.

In 1838 an agitation in favor of international copyright, carried on in New York and Philadelphia, extended to Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans; and while one writer contended that there should be no copyright law, but that the common law should be applied for the protection of the property of authors, others advanced arguments similar to those that have done service ever since in the same cause. In fact, nothing of importance transpired in the general field of literature in which some persons in the South did not show an appreciative interest, or were not prepared to discuss on a high plane.

When the war cut off the South from the usual sources of much of its literary supply, and made it almost absolutely dependent upon the publishers of its own section, they responded to the call upon them as promptly as did men and women in other fields. To match Harper's Weekly, the Southern Illustrated News was born. West & Johnson of Richmond paid, in 1862, about \$15,000 to Southern authors, and arranged for the republication upon equitable terms of English works; and Goelzel & Co., in far-off Mobile, wrote in the same year to Bulwer that they had published ten thousand copies of his "Strange Story," allowing him ten cents for each copy, and that they proposed to continue that courtesy in dealing with the works of foreign authors.

At that time Dr. Bagby was collecting material for volumes upon the heroic and humorous incidents of the war; W. Gordon McCabe was sending from the Howitzer's Camp essays upon Dante and upon political corruption; S. Teackle Wallis was writing in prison at Fort Warren his "Guerrillas;" Lamar Fontaine thought of "All Quiet Along the Potomac" as he stood on picket; "Open Letters to an Englishman, explaining the Causes of the War" were composed by Captain W. T. Walthall of the Alabama Volunteers, in camp near Davis's Ford; Howison was writing his "History of the War;" and Adjutant Samuel Davis, of the Army of Northern Virginia, found time to write a review of "Tannhäuser."

Their devotion to Mars did not lessen their love of Minerva. Their difficulties were but extreme types of those under which many of their brethren had labored for a generation. The former were confronted by the stern realities of war, the latter by the conditions that had contributed to the necessity for war. The conclusion of that struggle emphasized the fact that the pen is mightier than the sword as a moulder of public opin-This had been recognized by some in the South, especially by those who had attempted to build up a solid literary life. But not sufficiently had they been seconded. War, the subsequent paralysis of reconstruction days, and the occupation of energies in restoring from the ruins the material interests of a section, not only were a bar for a time to any great literary effort. but were the means of obliterating or distorting by tradition much of what remained of the earlier history.

But a candid study of records that remain, in the light of conditions that prevailed forty or fifty years ago, must lead one to hold in honorable remembrance the earnest efforts of Southerners to aid in creating a pure and lofty American literature.

## CHAPTER VIL

## PLANS FOR PROGRESS.

Among the features of Southern life illustrating and explaining some of its characteristics, the convention had much prominence. By convention is meant, not the political body, but the assembly in which men of both parties met in an endeavor to discuss, outside the shadow of politics, vital interests of their section, and to devise means to advance them.

This convention idea found expression as early as 1837-1839 in the meetings at Macon, Augusta, and Charleston, At Charleston six of the cotton States were represented by 219 delegates, South Carolina sending 170, and Georgia 33. The general purpose of these gatherings was to arouse interest in the commercial independence of the South. The addresses issued were elaborate arguments for the possibilities and the necessities of the South, and the resolutions adopted were thought to embody the plans for accomplishment. It was resolved that commercial credit and capital should be extended, that a portion of capital should be diverted into commercial lines, that the banks should aid the merchants, that foreign capital and credit should be attracted, and that to make possible direct lines of packets from and to Southern ports a demand should be created at those ports by opening up the interior of the country.

Nothing was achieved by the early gatherings, and a

contemporary critic pointed out the weakness of resolutions "not to buy Northern goods when they can get Southern, unless the Northern ones are the cheapest; not to freight Northern vessels when they can freight Southern ones, unless the Northern ones freight for less." 1

They were not really representative of any one class in the South, and it would have been remarkable had their resolutions been effective. The convention that may be considered the model of the later series met in Memphis in 1845. In March of that year Captain Bingham of Arkansas went to Memphis to organize interest in a military road from the Mississippi to the Indian frontier. At a meeting called for his benefit, it was suggested that a convention be held in July. This was adopted, but the attendance in July was so small that adjournment was had until November.

The call for the convention excited fears of some persons that it involved a political scheme, perhaps the creation of a vast Western empire; of others that the delegates would not be able to avoid a conflict over the tariff question during discussions of trade, commerce, and internal improvements.

Six hundred delegates from sixteen Southern and Western States and Territories promptly negatived these apprehensions. The test proposition of one delegate, that the seat of national government should be re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, v. 3. One of the early resolutions offered was that it was "sacred duty which the citizens of the Southern and Southwestern States owe to themselves, their posterity, and their country, to give a decided preference (when terms are equal), in procuring their supplies, to our merchants who carry on a direct trade with foreign nations."

moved to a place west of the Alleghanies, was not permitted to be recorded in the proceedings and was solidly opposed; and among the first resolutions was one affirming that the convention, "far from desiring to engender sectional prejudices or to encourage attempts to alienate any portion of one country from the rest, regard the North and the South, the East and the West, as one people, in sympathy and in interest, as in government and country, and hold their countrymen of every State to the duties and responsibilities of a closely connected and indissoluble union."

John C. Calhoun was chosen president of the body, and the vice-presidents were representative men. They were Dr. James Overton, Tennessee; Colonel John Hanna, Kentucky; Colonel William Strong, Arkansas; General Roger Barton, Mississippi; Captain H. M. Shreeve, Missouri; Hon. C. C. Clay, Alabama; Hon. O. L. Morgan, Louisiana; Major A. Black, South Carolina; General Leonard White, Illinois; Dr. Richard Sneed, North Carolina; J. S. Hawkins, Ohio; Hon. William Birch, Indiana; General A. C. Dodge, Iowa; B. B. Minor, Virginia; General E. P. Gaines, Louisiana.

Western Pennsylvania was also represented; and although eastern Virginia had not been included in the original call, its delegate was welcomed by acclamation, and he was made a vice-president.

Calhoun, in his opening address, dealt largely with the subject of the power of the general government to carry on a system of internal improvements. In this he did not believe, he said, as he had seen the evil effects of the policy; but he did not extend his objec-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, i. 8.

tions to the improvement of the Mississippi. This river he called the great highway of Western commerce, the inland sea of the country; and he believed that as much attention should be given to its improvement and defence by the government as was given to the Atlantic seaboard.

Individual enterprise alone, he continued, or the joint efforts of States and individuals, could not do it; and, therefore, it was within the province of the government. He argued also that, indirectly, the Federal power might contribute to internal improvements by granting alternate portions of unoccupied lands to roads proposing to pass through them, though he hoped the government would not long remain a land proprietor, and that a bounty amounting to \$2,000 or \$3,000 a mile be given by allowing railroads to import their iron duty free.

Though Calhoun had expressed at the beginning of his speech pleasure at the apparent determination to exclude matters tending to excite political prejudice, he could not help dealing with a subject that was at that time an active political one. It is rather significant that the successors of the Memphis convention in after years gradually assumed a political character, not only in the personnel of active participants in their deliberations, but in the trend of the discussions.

There was little, if any, politics at Memphis; and whatever sectionalism was expressed was a sectionalism of two-thirds of the United States, anxious to secure proper advantages.

Resolutions adopted demonstrate that fact. They favored plans for the deepening of the mouth of the Mississippi, a ship-canal between the Mississippi and

the Great Lakes, military and naval defences for the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, a national armory and foundry in the West, a marine hospital in the same section, the reclamation of waste lands along the Mississippi and its tributaries, a railroad from the Mississippi to the south Atlantic coast, the removal of obstructions from the river at St. Louis, a dry-dock on the Gulf, and the completion of the military road from the Mississippi opposite Memphis to the highlands of Arkansas.

Committees were appointed to draft an address to the people and to memorialize Congress, and a few months later Calhoun made his report in the Senate upon the memorial. This was about the only immediate result of the convention, though it may be proper to mention that the subject of the warehousing system discussed at Memphis was embodied in the tariff legislation of 1846.

Some Westerners were not satisfied with the outcome of the meeting, and they held another convention at Chicago to favor particularly the project of a canal; and that convention was one of the marks of the diversion of trade of the upper Mississippi valley from New Orleans to New York and other Eastern cities.

Subsequently railroad conventions were held at St. Louis, Memphis, Bristol, New Orleans, and other cities. At one held in New Orleans in January, 1852, between six hundred and eight hundred delegates were present, from Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas,

<sup>1</sup> In it he contended that the reasons which influenced the framers of the Constitution to delegate to Congress the power to regulate commerce among the States were then as applicable to the States bordering on the Mississippi and its great tributaries as they were to those bordering on the Atlantic.

and Georgia. Among the plans broached was the construction of a railroad from Washington to New Orleans. At St. Louis and Memphis, in 1849, had been advocated the construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and the Bristol convention appointed a commissioner to visit Europe in the interest of direct trade.

Other gatherings of a more limited character were the Virginia Mercantile Convention of 1851, the Virginia Internal Improvement Convention of 1852, the agricultural bodies at Macon in 1852 and at Columbia in 1854, the meetings of the cotton planters at Macon in 1851, at Montgomery in 1853, and at Nashville in 1859, and the Tobacco Convention at Richmond in 1857. These represented particular interests of the South, and cannot be classed with the Memphis Convention, or with the annual conventions held during the decade preceding war.

Interest in the latter was undoubtedly heightened by the circumstances of the time. Indirectly they were the outcome of the political compromises of 1850, compromises that satisfied none of the parties to them. In response to a feeling that the South should take steps to maintain its position in the Union and improve it, the questions brought at first before them were of a practical nature, dealing with commerce, manufactures, and education. Theory and politics crept later into the debates; and finally, as the border States failed to send delegates, the South Carolinian, Georgian, and Mississippian dominated over a body that had come to represent, not the slave States, not the great South and West, but the cotton States alone, and not even a united sentiment there.

De Bow made in his magazine, in June, 1851, an em-

phatic appeal for Southern conventions to take action for the defence of the policy and the institutions of the South. Many other men shared De Bow's opinion; and in December, 1852, with Wm. C. Dawson, of Georgia, president, there assembled in Baltimore the first of a series of conventions that met regularly until South Carolina gave the signal for war. The only Southern States not sending delegates were Delaware, Arkansas, and Texas; and though some delegates thought that Maryland had been chiefly benefited by the gathering, in the advocacy of a line of steamships between Baltimore and Liverpool, the resolutions favoring means of intercommunication in the South, South-west, and West, and the encouragement by the United States of a steamship line to the Amazon, were of equal importance to the whole South.

The body that adjourned to meet in June, 1853, at Memphis, became, in fact, a permanent institution, known as the Southern Convention, the Southern and Western Convention, or the Southern Commercial Convention. It recorded rather than influenced the opinions held by the dominant element of the extreme South; and that explains, perhaps, the comparative failure of its meetings to have any effect upon the industrial and commercial conditions.

For a time material topics preponderated over those originating in the conflicts at Washington among men who lived, and moved, and had their being in politics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Its other sessions were at Charleston in April, 1854, New Orleans in January, 1855, Richmond in February, 1856, Savannah in December, 1856, Knoxville in August, 1857, Montgomery in May, 1858, and Vicksburg in May, 1859.

At Memphis the discussions were principally upon the subjects of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific, the passage of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the free navigation of the Amazon, the encouragement of Southern education by the employment of native teachers, the establishment of a home press and normal schools, and the use of text-books written by local authors, and of the improvement of the Mississippi and the harbors of Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile.

With additions or other modifications these measures were under consideration for several years; but few, if any, were aided to accomplishment. Captain Albert Pike was one of the most ardent pleaders for a Pacific railroad, and from 1854 to 1859 a route near the thirtysecond degree of longitude was favored. Pike insisted that it was useless to expect Congress to build the road, and that the South should undertake the work. If Congress did build it, he said, a northern route would be selected, and the South would have to pay for it. He proposed that the Southern States should confederate for the purpose in a legal union, dealing as independent States, negotiating, if need be, with Mexico, asking no favors of the North, and telling the general government that if it wished the mails to be carried over the road it should pay for the privilege.

N. D. Coleman of Mississippi opposed Pike's scheme as savoring of politics, and T. A. Marshall of the same State said that Mississippi would not consent to be taxed for a road built one thousand miles west of its borders. Though the Southern States, he argued, had one general interest, they also had separate ones, and could not be brought into united action within ten or

twelve years. Pike renewed his efforts at New Orleans, contending that it was the duty of the general government to aid the project by land grants, and by using the road for transporting the mails, troops, and munitions of war; and at Savannah his suggestions were adopted.

Lieutenant Maury was one of the leaders in the effort to secure free navigation of the Amazon, and he was prepared with facts to prove its advantages. He said that the monarchical party in Brazil were opposed to progress, but that the republicans were in favor of the scheme. But James Lyons of Virginia viewed the plan as "daring, outright filibustering upon a neighboring nation."

The filibustering spirit, however, was occasionally manifested by individual delegates. One thought that the acquisition of Cuba was essentially necessary to the protection of commerce and the security of the Southern coast; another would have mapped out work for diplomats by having the United States oppose interference on the part of European nations with the relations of master and servant in Cuba; but no disposition was shown by the convention as a body to encourage this spirit at the time.

In regard to Nicaragua, however, there was a different tale. At Savannah was expressed the sympathy of the convention "with the efforts to introduce civilization into the States of Central America, and to develop these rich and productive regions by the introduction of slave labor." A resolution indorsing Walker and the introduction of slavery into Nicaragua was opposed at Knox-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xvii. 402.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., xxii, 101.

ville; but Walker and the Irish patriot, Jonn Mitchell, were welcomed to the Montgomery Convention; and Percy Walker of Alabama offered a resolution criticising the acts of the Federal government in interfering with the enterprise of Walker and his following in Nicaragua. and stating that if persisted in they would dissolve the Union. A motion to lay this on the table was lost by a vote of 23 to 39; Virginia's 15, South Carolina's 8, being for it; and Alabama's 9, Louisiana's 6, Georgia's 10, Mississippi's 7, Texas' 4, and Florida's 3 being against it. After debate, and the elision of the clause referring to disunion, the resolution was adopted unanimously. Its conclusion was that, "we believe that the people of the Southern States, not only entirely repudiate these wrongs to their former countrymen, but also regard them as indirect insults to themselves; and we accordingly warn the Federal government that a further persistence in such acts will render the government odious to the people of the States and contemptible to foreign nations." 1

By that time the convention had wandered considerably from the lines in which the practical minds of the earlier delegates had expected it to move. Their difficulties were very great. Harbor improvements were brought to the attention of the convention at Charleston; and Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia delegates opposed the idea of the general government's making them. Amendments were offered by C. C. Clay of Alabama, and T. J. Kirkpatrick of Virginia, designed to meet constitutional objections; but the talk developed the fact of the impossibility for party men present to

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 603,

escape political influences, and a Georgia Whig appealed to the delegates to avoid topics which would waste time and cause dissension at a time when peace and harmony were needed for the welfare of the South. Even when government aid to steamship lines was proposed, an attempt was made to commit the convention to opposition to Federal bounties.

However sincere the delegates may have been in their desire to avoid politics, it was natural for the tariff to come to the front at Charleston, and for its consideration to turn upon the particular item mentioned by Calhoun in Memphis nine years previously. A motion to ask for a remission of duties on railroad iron was amended by substituting the word "reduction" for "remission," with Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia in the affirmative, and Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Texas in the negative. A proposed substitute, providing for a suspension of duties for four years, and a drawback in consideration of carrying the mails on the railroads, was lost; and the motion as amended was adopted, with Maryland and Missouri opposing. Reciprocity with Great Britain at reduced rates was also favored.

Resolutions were adopted next year recommending a specific duty upon sugar and the abolition of duties on railroad iron; and Isaac N. Morse of Louisiana wanted representatives to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the tariff and substituting for it a direct tax, his idea containing the germ of an income tax. Nothing was done with this suggestion, but it was a wedge that opened the way for action upon the subject of "absolute

free trade and moderate direct taxation." Such a proposition was at first tabled by the votes of Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Florida, against those of Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana; but upon reconsideration a special committee to report at the next convention was appointed as follows: John A. Calhoun of South Carolina, Simpson Fouchet of Georgia, William L. Yancey of Alabama, John A. Quitman of Mississippi, William Carne of Florida, Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, Hugh McLeod of Texas, Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina, Beale H. Richardson of Maryland, James A. Seddon of Virginia, D. A. Atchison of Missouri, R. W. Johnson of Arkansas, A. V. Brown of Tennessee, and James A. Bavard of Delaware.

No report appears to have been made; but taxation was discussed, and the debate naturally turned upon slavery. Opposition to the tax was based upon the fear that it would give the general government power to legislate upon slave property. To this came the answer, that as the North did not regard slaves as property, they probably would not be taxed. It was urged that a direct tax would no doubt transfer in a few years millions of dollars from the North to the South; and a Georgian said that there was a party in state that had gained power by opposing the tariff; and now was supporting it because the people could be cheated into paying taxes under it. Horace Maynard, a congressman elect of Tennessee, who believed in the theory that the foreign producer and not the consumer paid the tariff tax, thought that an indirect tax was more favorable for the South, because slaves used articles not taxed. But a South Carolinian was ready with an illustration of the evils of indirect taxation, in the fact that on a gun that had cost him \$250 abroad, he had been obliged to pay a duty of \$50, as much as the tax for a year upon a hundred slaves.

Tariff revision did not, however, progress farther than a recommendation, upon motion of a Virginian, of a reduction by a foreign nation of duties on tobacco.

In 1859 free trade and direct taxation were again advocated; but the subjects were referred to the convention that was to have met in Atlanta, in November, 1860. Advocates of free trade saw in that policy the chance for a reversal of conditions that they thought had operated against the South. They regarded the tariff as sectional in its operation, and were anxious to abolish it along with tonnage duties. J. W. Clay offered, at Charleston, a resolution for the reduction or the abolition of tonnage duties; and such a resolution was adopted in 1857, and again in 1859.

Inasmuch as many delegates were politicians, it was impossible to prevent long debates upon the questions which from campaign to campaign were agitating the country with increasing intensity. Though the confessed purpose of the conventions was the upbuilding of the South, and though the sentiments of some delegates were strongly Union, it appeared necessary at times to explain their position, and to correct an impression that they represented the feelings that had essayed nullification in 1832, and had culminated in the Nashville Convention of 1850.

Thus W. C. Dawson, as chairman of the Memphis Convention in 1853, said that that body was actuated by

no feeling hostile to the Union, and frequently asseverations were made to the same intent. Great applause was caused at Charleston by Albert Pike's statement that the true way for the North and the South to live peaceably together was for the South to become independent of the North. That might have smacked of disunion, and indeed, at a subsequent convention, the speaker, who was Northern born, was obliged to disavow any disunion intention; but he qualified the word "independent" by stating that he would not tear the national flag asunder, or break up the "glorious union of the States:" but that the South ought to avail itself of its natural opportunities to become independent within the Union. At New Orleans he offered resolutions showing his attitude toward the North. These recited that during the past twenty years fraternity in legislation had waned, and announced that unless the free States should abide by their constitutional obligations to the slave States, the latter would be warranted in uniting within the Constitution for protection and independence. "equally threatened by dissensions within and assaults from without;" and that the convention and the South, so far from favoring secession, would "never consent to relieve the United States and people from a single obligation, or the performance of the highest duty imposed upon them by the Constitution," and would prepare to maintain their rights.

In discussing another subject he said later, "Why, sir, if the government of the United States, in case of invasion or disregard of our rights by the republic — or, as it now is empire — of Mexico, would not interfere to protect the rights of her own citizens there, and wage

war if necessary for their enforcement, then I for one will cease to be an American citizen, and you may raise your banner of secession, and I will be found fighting under it." The great applause that greeted these words cannot be regarded as evidence of disloyalty, though the use of the word "secession" may have been heralded as treasonable by a class that a few years later were denouncing the Constitution because it did not square with ideas not influential at the time of its adoption.

But in 1854 the leaders in the convention were inclined to keep such topics in the background. When Nelson Tift of Georgia proposed that a special committee should be appointed to report simple, practicable, and constitutional means for defending and securing the rights of the South in the Union, General Tilghman of Maryland contended that such a resolution was foreign to the purposes of the convention; and it was referred to the committee on business. Tift, however, managed to report from the committee on resolutions that the States had, by virtue of powers not delegated by the Constitution to the general government, the means which he believed would "avert in all time that dreadful catastrophe, disunion, and teach the enemies of the Constitution, and the usurpers of the rights of States, by the potent argument of interest as well as justice, that their schemes of wrong cannot be prosecuted with impunity." 2

As president of the Richmond convention, General Tilghman had an opportunity to express his belief in the Union; and he told the delegates that the highest

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xvii. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 399.

interests of the South were "to be found in the Federal Constitution and the integrity of the Union," and that it would be time enough to talk of dissolution when no alternative remained. At the banquet that followed the brief session, though "Hail Columbia" was played by the band, the toasts included "The District of Columbia, the battle-ground for Southern institutions," and "If driven to separation, the Southern Republic bounded on the north by Mason and Dixon's line, and on the south by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, including Cuba and all the other islands upon the southern shore, which threaten Africanization."

As the convention moved among the slave States, the talk of separation grew, though the cry was still for conservation of Southern institutions within the Union. The results of the campaign of 1856 had their weight in the Savannah meeting; and James Lyons of Virginia, the president, predicted the day when the South would need all its power to preserve its rights. Still he denied that they had gathered to dissolve the Union, as had been charged, but said that they were to to consider what they could do "to make the Union one of the whole country. The South asked, he added, for justice and for equality, and would submit to nothing else. In spite of his generally conservative words, however, certain resolutions were adopted, which could only increase the agitation vigorously waged in both sections.

A recommendation of migration of Southerners to Kansas, to balance that encouraged by immigrant aid societies in the North could not be considered disloyal; and self-protection rather than aggression was the spirit that animated the desire to have the national military

resources in the South equal to those in the rest of the country, whatever ulterior motive may have seemed to lurk in one of the resolutions. This one requested Southern members of Congress to inquire "whether their respective States and the South as a whole have received their full quota of arms distributable under the acts of Congress; and also whether there is placed within their limits in the arsenals of the United States, their full proportion of arms of every kind, and all the munitions of war, camp, and other equipage of the United States, wherewith troops of all kinds may be equipped on emergency; and if either be found not to be the case, to urge immediate action as may be needed," to place the South in this respect upon a footing of equality with other sections." <sup>1</sup>

Congressmen were also requested to collect information about the most efficient means for protecting the coasts and harbors against war-vessels, and to insist that all the important ports of the seaboard and gulf States be kept supplied with the most improved means and armament for prompt and effective defence. Arsenals and gun-foundries were also recommended. This resolution had, undoubtedly, a war-like tinge, but it did not contemplate hostility to the general government. It was based upon apprehensions of attacks supported, if not inspired, by a sentiment that later saw nothing but heroism in the plan of John Brown and his associates and backers.

Parts of two days were expended in Knoxville in a dispute showing hostility to one element in the North, but hardly characteristic of the feelings of the convention.

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxii. 101.

When a resolution was offered inviting to seats in the convention all editors and reporters friendly to the objects of the gathering, a Virginian moved to lay it on the table. He was opposed, he said, to paying the representatives of the Northern press the compliment of placing them on the same footing as Southern reporters. The subject was presented in various forms, McRae of Mississippi, being opposed to shackling the press; Yancev of Georgia replying that it grated harshly on his ear "to hear a delegate from the gallant State of Mississippi favor extension of civilities to a Black Republican editor;" and Brownlow of Tennessee expressing a willingness to allow a reporter for his Satanic majesty to attend if he so desired. Finally the convention resolved to make no formal distinction. But the incident was expressive of the fermentation of opinion; and there was, consequently, nothing remarkable in the somewhat contradictory address calling the Vicksburg convention, and signed by James Lyons of Virginia, T. B. Bethea of Alabama, W. M. Churchill of Tennessee, B. C. Yancey of Georgia, and W. W. Boyce of South Carolina. This asserted that the convention would not consider the question of disunion or any question tending to produce that result. But while it expressed a wish to perpetuate the Union, it hinted at the probability of the South's being compelled at no distant day to assert its political independence, and set forth the alternatives, withdrawal from an association that no longer recognized the original compact as the rule of government so as to become independent "persecutors and oppressors," or "submission to an oppressive and iniquitous majority," which meant "ruin, disgrace, bondage."

By that time some of the leading speakers in the convention had taken such positions that even Southerners had not full confidence in it; and when it met in 1859, in Vicksburg, the people of that town viewed it with distrust, and, as one of its promoters wrote, "seemed disposed to keep at a safe distance from its infected districts." "Some of them," he added, "had sniffed 'treason in the tainted air;' and our friend Governor Foote was glad to meet with it, and struggle with it, in its own naked deformity."

Such a feeling in such a city was not without foundation. It was excited, not by the acts of the convention in the past, but by the growth of influence of members who would stop at nothing in their advocacy of slavery. There was a certain degree of logic in their contention for the revival of the slave-trade; but their premises were not sound, and their arguments were not of a kind to stunt the growth in the North of an anti-slavery feeling, or to enlarge in the free States the power of a party that, through fortuitous circumstances, had become identified, in the minds of some, with slavery.

At the New Orleans convention, the subject of the slave-trade was interjected by a Louisianian in a resolution recommending that senators and representatives should endeavor to pass a bill for the repeal of all laws suppressing the slave-trade, upon the grounds "that African slavery is an institution clearly sanctioned by the volume of inspiration, that it is the only conservative power of the South and of the Union, and that it constitutes the best state of society, where the African and Caucasian races are compelled to dwell together in

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvii, 115.

the same community." No enthusiasm was shown over this suggestion; and when J. H. Gibbon, of North Carolina, interrupted a business debate at Richmond with a discussion of slavery, the subject was postponed until the next meeting.

At that time W. B. Goulden, of Georgia, proposed that all laws against the slave-trade should be repealed. This motion was laid upon the table by a decided vote; and an effort to raise it was lost by a vote of 67 to 18, South Carolina and Texas voting in the affirmative, Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida in the negative, and Tennessee being divided.

Then was suggested a committee to report upon the condition and the prospects of slavery, and upon the propriety of reopening the traffic. This was rejected by a vote of 61 to 24; the whole vote of Tennessee being cast against it, and Louisiana voting with South Carolina and Texas for it. Other attempts to place the convention on record in one way or another were made in vain; and the table received the resolution that a refusal to consider the subject was "not prompted by any shrinking doubt of the justice of our cause, or any unmanly fear of looking those facts in the face." <sup>2</sup>

Within a year the sentiment had so changed that it was decided to have a committee to report on the matter at the Montgomery convention. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, presented the report, which, after a long debate, was ordered to be printed. The resolutions appended to it asserted that slavery was right, that there

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 628.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., xxii. 95.

was no wrong in the natural means to its formation, and advised that a committee consider the method by which it might be reopened. These were revived at the Vicksburg convention. That body sat for five days, and devoted four of them to the consideration of the slave-trade, with the result of the passage of a resolution, "That all laws, State and Federal, prohibiting the African slave-trade ought to be repealed."

Such was the result of an agitation of three years; and the discussions leading to it, while by no means representing the views of a majority of the Southern people, illustrate the theories of a class that would hesitate at nothing to carry their point.

Arguments in favor of the slave-trade were of various forms. It was contended that the drains from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri by the domestic slave-trade were changing them to free States. If the labor supply there was not replenished from Africa, it

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvi. 713. The vote on this resolution was as follows: Ayes, Alabama 9, Arkansas 4, South Carolina 4, Louisiana 6, Texas 4, Georgia 10, Mississippi 7, total 44; Noes, South Carolina 4, Tennessee 12, Florida 3, total 19.

A resolution in favor of the abrogation of the treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade was also passed. Two years before, E. B. Bryan of South Carolina had introduced a resolution for the annulment of the eighth article of the treaty of 1842 providing for a squadron on the coast of Africa. A motion to table this was lost by a vote of 42 to 62, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Maryland being opposed by Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana; and it was adopted by the following vote: Ayes, Arkansas 4, Georgia 10, Mississippi 7, Louisiana 6, Alabama 9, Maryland 4, Virginia 15, Florida 3, South Carolina 8, total 66; Noes, Tennessee 12, North Carolina 10, and Maryland 4, total 26.

would come from Europe, and take the local government from the hands of the original population. With cheap negroes at hand, the hostile legislation of Congress could be set at defiance. After supplying the States, the black population would overflow into the Territories, and nothing could control its natural expansion. The rival system of free labor at the North, founded upon the labor of Europe and supplied by it, would not be able to compete with well-trained African levies.

In the Montgomery report of Spratt, the reasons advanced were, that there was no distinction between the domestic and the foreign trade, and that the position of Delaware and Maryland was becoming more and more equivocal. The slave-trade would give the South political power; as for every five slaves that were brought in, would be acquired the right for three more persons to be represented in Congress. More slave States were necessary; and experience had proved that, without slaves, no more slave territory could be had. The value of land would be increased, and the cheaper form of slave labor would not come into competition with the slaves already owned. The change might reduce the price of cotton, but that was desirable.

In Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, it was moreover contended, there were a large class of persons compelled to work for themselves, who realized that there was a difference between labor and slave labor. A greater supply of slaves would enable all to become slaveholders; and thus all the ruling class would be brought up to the same social standing, and the "odious distinction" between slaveholders and non-slaveholders would be abolished.

Such were the general theories that were combated and defended for two years. Upon the introduction of the report at Montgomery, R. A. Pryor urged that there were "considerations of high state policy, of eminently high Southern policy, which should forbid this convention, which purports to represent the interests of the South, from embarking in so serious an enterprise as that of proclaiming before Christendom that they now intend to insist upon reopening the trade in African slaves." The South should import whites, he said, if any persons were to be imported; though he was opposed to an increase in the population, and he denied that any large class in the South were inimical to the institution.

It was not wise for negroes to be employed in the mechanic arts, as the necessary instruction and accomplishments would tend to the fomentation of discontent, and the slaves would come into competition with white mechanics. The curse of Virginia's domestic economy was the excess of household labor. He saw little difference between reducing the value of slaves one-half or one-third and freeing them. Friends at the North, as well as the Northern wing of the Democratic party, were to be considered; and, besides, he was not prepared to throw the gauntlet into the face of Christendom.

The proposition was nothing but a proposition to dissolve the Union, he continued, because it could not be adopted while the Union lasted; and Virginia was unwilling to rest the perpetuity of the Union upon such an issue as that of kidnapping cannibals upon the coast of Congo. "If you intend dissolution," he said, "declare it boldly and manfully."

This provoked applause; and John A. Jones, of Georgia, asked, "Will the gentleman go, go now, today, for a dissolution of the Union?"

"I am not going to take a position outside of the Union," was Pryor's reply, "until I can go with a united South. Give me a case of oppression and tyranny sufficient to justify dissolution of the Union, and give me a united South, and then I am willing to go out of the Union."

Again there was applause; and Jones could say nothing but, "If the gentleman waits for an undivided South, he never will go out of the Union."

In reply to Pryor's argument, Spratt intimated that it was not true that non-slaveholders were friendly to slaveholders; and he said that in the large Southern cities negro draymen had disappeared before the poor whites. He did not want slave labor to come into competition with free labor.

Pryor had alluded to the remark of W. L. Yancey of Alabama, that the Democratic party was the only ligament binding the North and the South. Yancey said that the Northern Democrats had been elevated far above the Southerners, who had been beckened to the lowest seats at the government table. He was ready to "shed his heart's blood" in defence of Southern rights, against the Union as it was. "A man who knew no North, South, East, or West," he added, "but was for the Union, was for the spoils, without reference to the rights of the people."

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 579, 583.

Jones, of Georgia, offered a resolution which was not adopted, calling upon the governments of the Southern States to call a convention to devise safeguards for the South in the Union, or else to go out of it.

Yancey traced to Virginia the conception of 1807, of the idea of abolition. "Thomas Jefferson," he said, "fresh from the great field of the French revolution, where the ideas of liberty had run into what we now call red republicanism, the idea that the black was equal to the white man, spread that idea in Virginia, and from him it was transmitted from father to son, and even in Virginia is not quite uprooted."

Such statements were specious, but they were not correct; and they were not calculated to prevent Virginia from following the example of Delaware, that had not of late sent delegates to the convention because of the coldness and distrust with which they were met; or to revive the flagging interest of Maryland and Kentucky, that had apparently come to understand the intent of the hot-heads who had gained the mastery of the convention.

The border States were not the only ones where judgment still swayed the mind. Robert G. Scott, of Alabama, did not want the South to espouse as a cause of complaint and resistance anything that would divide it. The African slave-trade he considered a side issue. For eighteen months the question had been before the people, and not a single primary meeting had indorsed it. In only one legislature had it been discussed to the extent of the presentation of majority and minority reports. Another Alabamian was not prepared for dissolution

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 584.

of the Union upon mere abstractions, and questions of doubtful policy. "If we would bring the government to the right track," he said, "and preserve the integrity of the Constitution, [we ought] to remain in the Union and preserve our rights there." 1

A Virginian pointed to the great need of the South for unity and harmony in council; and Yancey of Alabama said that the South was not even united upon the question whether it was justified in breaking the bonds of the Union, upon the grounds that its rights had been too much trampled.

In studying these portions of the debates, one will observe that questions of policy and politics, rather than of economics, were of most importance to the delegates. But there were some who viewed the matter from an entirely different standpoint. They were concerned with the subject of the morality of the slavetrade, and upon conscientious grounds resisted the efforts to reopen it. In reply to taunts about the absurdity of defending slavery and opposing the slave-trade, the distinction between the two positions was defined. Albert Pike said that he regarded the slave-trade and slavery as far apart as vice and virtue; and he did not believe there was a slaveholder in the convention who would not be glad to think that in the future every man fit to be free would be free. To embark in the slave-trade would, he thought, make them accomplices in barbarous warfare in Africa.

Andrew Hunter of Virginia said that the recommendation of Governor Adams of South Carolina favoring a reopening of the slave-trade had come "like a thun-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 591.

der-clap on a calm day upon a large portion at least of the South;" and B. H. Richardson of Maryland, while conceding that it was a commercial matter, said that the middle of the nineteenth century was not ready for such commerce. J. A. Calhoun derided "the sickly sentimentality" over the horrors of the African trade, which he thought were greater when it was carried on surreptitiously than if it were open and free. He saw no difference between the sale of a slave from Virginia to another State and the foreign slave-trade, and he believed the latter to be necessary as a counterpoise to the influx of labor brought from abroad into Northern States.

On the same line W. B. Goulden, of Georgia, argued that it was worse to take a slave from Virginia, separating him, a Christian man, from his family and associations, than to bring one from heathenism in Africa to Christianity in America; and in nine cases out of ten saving him from the vengeance of his captors. He, too, wanted slaves to be so cheap that the possession of at least one by every man in the South might prevent "an antagonism between slavery and labor, like that between capital and labor in the North;" and R. B. Baker, of Alabama, desired that the poor whites might be preserved from the menial offices they would have to fill were it not for slaves.

Expediency prevailed for a time, though a resolution, declaring that it would be inexpedient for any State or its citizens while in the Union to attempt to reopen the slave-trade, was laid on the table at Montgomery. It was cast to the winds, however, when Vicksburg was reached. There Spratt renewed the agitation, and along

with it the question of disunion was more openly debated. It had already been asserted that the election of a Republican to the Presidency would result in the subversion of the government, and that the end would then have come. In that event the people of the South would not wait for his inauguration. A willingness to go with the South on that issue, even if the election were had under the form of law and the Constitution, was expressed by W. L. Yancey, but he added that the issue was "an inferior one; and when, if they should not succeed, and he was asked why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him for treason, he could not, as he could have done upon present issues, raise his eyes to Heaven and say that he was guiltless of wrong against the Constitution and the laws of the country."1 This cause, which had been in the air since 1856, was formally introduced, though unsuccessfully, in the Vicksburg convention, in a resolution submitted by J. J. McRae, of Mississippi, to the effect that the election of a President by the Republican party in 1860, by a sectional majority, "will be a virtual dissolution of the compact of the existing Union of the States; and in that event this convention recommends to the people of the slaveholding States to meet immediately in convention, to determine the mode and measure of upholding the constitutional government as it at present exists, by preventing the installation into office of a Republican President and the inauguration of the Republican party in power; or, failing in that, to resolve the slaveholding States into a separate, independent organization, with such constitutional form of govern-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiv. 600.

ment as will best secure their safety, their honor, their rights, and institutions, and make them a power of the earth."1

But the slave-trade discussion overshadowed everything else. In his final argument Spratt denied the theory of the equality of men, and marked out the line for disunion. "The step to be taken," said he, "must first be taken by a single State. To be so taken, a majority of some single State must favor it. . . . We stand committed to the South, but we stand more vitally committed to the cause of slavery. It is to be doubted whether the South have any cause apart from the institution which affects her. It is to be doubted whether, without the differences in social constitutions which affect the sections, North and South, there would be any sections, North and South, to wage a contest; and it is by no means certain that the cause of slavery would find its final triumph in an act of dissolution." With hireling labor, he argued, came the form and spirit of democracy; and there was already a contest with democracy in the States, the cities, and the institutions of the South.

"And must we, therefore," he asked, "take for law whatever may be the will of Congress? If this measure be approved of this convention, and, through this convention, of the South, it will be clothed in all the sanctions that Southern men will ever want for its adoption.

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvii. 95. The principles of the Republican party were defined as opposition to African slavery, to the extension of the institution to the Territories, and to the slave-trade between the States; and advocacy of abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and on government property, and general emancipation as a conclusion.

Approved by Southern sentiment, it will be little matter what may be the course of Congress." 1

H. S. Foote, who considered that the doctrines of Spratt's resolutions, if put into practice, would lead to treason and disunion, denounced their author as encouraging lawbreaking, and announced that such a scheme, advanced upon the eve of a presidential contest, would end in the concentration of the energies of the whole North for the overthrow of the South. He was convinced that nine-tenths of the people of South Carolina would oppose disunion upon any such issue as the reopening of the slave-trade. "A nobler population does not exist," said he, "than the population of South Carolina. A more gallant, upright, and patriotic State is not to be found in the Union. But she has always been pestered with demagogues, especially of late times, since the great men of the old times passed away." <sup>2</sup>

Walker Brooke, of Mississippi, viewed the measure as fraught with ruin to the South; and he asserted that the constitutionality of the laws against the slave-trade had never been doubted by any intelligent mind until within two or three years, when it had been found convenient to make such a suggestion "to excuse certain juries for acting in violation of their oaths."

Then Isaac N. Davis, of Mississippi, brought the question of State rights into the controversy. "The doctrine of State rights," he said, "properly understood, is the great pabulum of our whole system, the sheetanchor of our prosperity, and the substratum upon which the pillars of our safety rest. Here we have a

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvii. 207, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 217.

tangible, a practical, and a home issue affecting those rights."1

Spratt's resolutions were not adopted; but the spirit of them was embodied in the resolution which was adopted, in spite of a minority report contending that the scheme was Utopian, especially since "a majority of the Southern States have re-enacted equally stringent laws on this subject."

J. M. Partridge, of Mississippi, protested against the action of the convention. He was interrupted in his speech by the chairman, who said that his language was disrespectful and indecorous. An appeal was taken from this act of the chairman, but was not sustained; and Partridge and Foote, resigning their seats, issued, with R. E. Crane, J. Regan, R. H. Crump, A Burwell, Walker Brooke, E. Emanuel, and G. V. Moody, a formal protest. This was deemed too disrespectful to be entered upon the minutes of the convention, but it was one of the evidences of a lack of unity in that body.

The protesters opposed the slave-trade resolution because it did not, in their opinion, embody the sentiment of the people of eight Southern States represented, inasmuch as on the statute books of at least ten States were laws, many passed within the last ten years, prohibiting the introduction of African slaves; because the delegates did not represent the wishes of the people of the States; because the resolution was impolitic as affecting the interests of such States as Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and North Carolina, which were represented; because it owed its origin to influences hostile to the peace and prosperity of the Union, being antagonistic

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvii. 468.

to the Constitution and laws, and sustained mainly by avowed disunionists; and, finally, because it could accomplish no practical good, but would awaken hostility in the North.

In explanation of the fact that so much of the convention's time was occupied in debate on such subjects, it must be understood that the great mass of topics was handled by a business committee, or by the committee on resolutions. Though the resolutions had little practical effect, they reflected prevailing ideas, and hence are valuable. Those adopted were in the main suggestions for Congress, for the legislatures of the several States, or for the people as a whole.

Congressional aid was asked for lines of steamships from Southern ports to South America, the West Indies, and Europe; to dig a ship-canal across Florida; to deepen Atchafalaya, Matagorda, and Galveston Bays and the inlets to other harbors; to improve the Red and Mississippi Rivers; to establish a navy-yard at New Orleans; to grant 2,000,000 acres to that city that it might be enabled to place itself in a sanitary condition; to give mail contracts to the Tehuantepec Railroad Company; to grant lands to railroads in the South and West; and to fortify Port Royal, S.C., Mobile, Ala., and other ports. The erection of the Territory of Arizona from a portion of the Gadsden purchase, and the exclusive control of the Tehuantepec route by the United States, were also urged upon Congress.

To the States were left the encouragement of boys to go to sea, the bestowal of a bounty for direct importations or the release of such goods from a license tax, the organization of quarantine, the aiding of the opening of the Tehuantepec route to the Pacific, the establishment of schools for seamen, the encouragement of local shipbuilding, and the exemption of one slave or more from liability for debts.

Capitalists were called upon to extend railroad lines, to promote direct trade, and to divert part of their funds into manufactures and mining. At Richmond it was recommended that Southern manufactures be used whenever they could be had upon as advantageous terms as Northern ones; that Southern institutions of learning be patronized; and that books published at the South be used in preference to Northern books, when they could be procured; and that Southern pleasure resorts be more frequented.

Committees were appointed to report upon a system of detective police to be supported by planters and slave-holders; to report upon the manufacturing facilities and resources of the South, and the capabilities and advantages of harbors; and to learn the value of goods not produced in the South, but consumed there annually; the quantity purchased in the North and in Europe; the public debt of each State owed to foreigners, to North-erners, and to Southerners, and the extent to which each State was tributary to the North in connection with the public debt; the duties upon imports, and other expenses incident to the purchase of goods in the North.

The zeal manifested in preparing a report upon the slave-trade was not exerted to such a great extent in behalf of these subjects, which, if properly studied and properly presented, might have deterred the South from the issue of separation, or, if practically applied upon the basis of earlier conditions, might have removed the economic grievances underlying the whole dispute.

Contrasted with the objects that the convention might have accomplished, the slave-trade resolution takes rank with the "vagaries and the impracticabilities" which failed of recognition. Though New Orleans had one of the smallest attendances, it was the occasion for the presentation of quite a number of these dreams. It was proposed by one man that the chambers of commerce and commission merchants should adopt regulations to end the practice of making advances to planters in anticipation of their crops. This practice he regarded as being at variance with safety in business transactions, and as tending to establish the relation of master and slave between the merchant and planter. He would have made it a penitentiary offence for the planter to ask for the advance or for the merchant to make it. The suggestion was also advanced that home merchants be patronized, and that foreign agents and factors be excluded from the Southern chambers of commerce, and debarred from the purchase and sale of produce in the South and Southwest. Resembling this was the one presented at Vicksburg, of non-intercourse with Northern States that should send emissaries among the slaves to render them discontented with their condition, to induce them to run away, or to incite them to insurrection.

Not without warning did the conventions drift into the swift, easy-going current of impracticability, instead of devoting their time and energies to overcoming the difficulties, natural and artificial, that beset their sec-

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ment of the South. The facts of 1860 would seem to squint toward an affirmative answer.

One of the most severe criticisms of the conventions ever published, as well as an excellent portrayal, though perhaps exaggerated, of the conditions rendering them futile as to practical results, appeared in a Virginia newspaper shortly before the delegates assembled in 1858. "If the delegates to the Southern convention will take note of a few particulars on their way," was the comment, "perhaps they may find food for reflection more valuable than has hitherto been submitted in resolutions and manifestoes.

"They will start in some stage or railroad coach made in the North; an engine of Northern manufacture will take their train or boat along; at every meal they will sit down on Yankee chairs to a Yankee table, spread with a Yankee cloth. With a Yankee spoon they will take from Yankee dishes sugar, salt, and coffee, which have paid tribute to Yankee trade, and with Yankee knives and forks they will put into their mouths the only thing Southern they will get on their trip.

"At night they will pull off a pair of Yankee boots with a Yankee boot-jack, and throwing a lot of Yankee toggery on a Yankee chair, lie down to dream of Southern independence in a Yankee bed, with not even a thread of cotton around them that has not gone through a Yankee loom, or come out of a Yankee shop.

"In the morning they will get up to fix themselves by a 12 x 14 Yankee looking-glass, with a Yankee brush and comb; after perhaps washing off a little of the soil of the South from their faces with water drawn in a Yankee bucket, and put in a Yankee pitcher on a Yankee washstand, the partner in honorable exile with a lot of Yankee wares that make up the sum of the furniture.

"Think of these things, gentlemen, and ask yourselves is there no remedy for this dependence? Ask yourselves if there be not some mode of action which will bring about a change, and keep your cotton, your wheat, and your tobacco crops from going out of the South, to buy for you the things you must have to keep up with the age?

"Great steamships and grand expansions and magnificent speeches will do well enough; but there are littlethings, and a thousand of them, too, which might have a little attention, and perhaps lead to some small advantages." <sup>1</sup>

Four years before the same view had been taken in the statement, that, from the rattle with which the nurse tickled the ear of the child, to the shroud for the dead, everything that Southerners used came from the North.

Several elements contributed to the miscarriage of the purposes of the original promoters of the conventions. In the first place the looseness of the organization rendered it impossible to command a proper hearing from those whom they sought to influence. Primaries, appointment by State or municipal authorities, and individual inclination resulted in a membership of men of position and character in business, in the professions, and in politics. But, with few exceptions, there was little permanency in the number and personnel of members, and the determination to make the body permanent was made at the eleventh hour of impossibility.

Generally the State in which the gathering was held

1 De Bow's Review, xxiv. 573.

was strongly represented, and other States at a distance had but two or three delegates. At Memphis five hundred and fifty persons attended; but two years later, at New Orleans, only a handful, a hundred, were present. Bad weather prevented a very large gathering in Richmond, which explains the second meeting in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

There was a wide difference between the Southern and Western convention of 1853, in which Indiana and Illinois sat with thirteen Southern States, and that of nine cotton States of 1859, with five slave States between them and the North not represented; and the growth of that difference had been accompanied by a shifting of the reason for the existence of the conventions.

In 1854 De Bow wrote that they had originated from the interference of other sections in the institutions and policy of the South, but that they met afterward upon purely industrial grounds. Two years later, in calling the Savannah meeting, it was stated that the primary considerations had been economic, but that vigor had been added to the meetings by the "insolent and aggressive spirit exhibited at times by the free States, sufficient in other countries to have led to hostilities, and which has threatened, and only been arrested upon the threshold of, a disruption of the Federal Union itself." Both of these statements were partly true; for the de-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The variations in attendance are indicated by the number of States represented in different years. At Baltimore 12 States were represented, at Memphis 14, at Charleston 14, at New Orleans 12, at Richmond 7, at Savannah 10, at Knoxville 13, at Montgomery 9, and at Vicksburg 9.

<sup>2</sup> De Bow's Review, xxi. 550.

bates in the conventions showed that some of the delegates were moved solely by economic considerations, while others dealt with sectional relations only, and based all their utterances and actions upon them.

The two classes could not avoid antagonism. In that was the germ of division which mirrored the extremes of opinion in the States of the South, or at least in the predominant element among them. The failure of the delegates to be unanimous must have weakened the influence of their recommendations, even had they been clothed with authority to speak for the whole South.

Could the body have practised what they preached, their example would have helped to make their resolves resolutions indeed. It was perfectly proper to indorse the plan of constructing a railroad from West Point, Ga., to connect with a proposed Southern Pacific road chartered in Texas, or a road from Louisville to connect at the Cumberland Gap with the Georgia system; to advocate the placing of steamships upon a route between Baltimore and Liverpool, or the steam ferry between Chesapeake Bay and Milford Haven,—the scheme of Dudley Mann,—but man has never been able to accomplish anything by simply saying that it was a good thing, and that it ought to be done.

The convention at Charleston determined to contribute to the Calhoun monument fund; but the Savannah resolution that a preliminary subscription of not less than one hundred dollars each be made by the delegates toward a joint-stock company to establish direct trade with England and the European continent was not adopted; and the suggestion at New Orleans that a committee of five men be appointed to correspond with manufacturers of England regarding the cotton interests, so as to test the theory of direct trade, was not regarded.

The taking of stock in the preliminary organization of a company to adopt Mann's scheme, as was done at a meeting at Old Point in 1857 by men of Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, was more potent than ten resolutions and one hundred speeches.

Another impediment to business was the proneness of some delegates to too much talking. In reviewing the Montgomery meeting, De Bow, who had at first intended not to publish the proceedings, said that, if the convention had done nothing else, it had "furnished the arena for some of the highest efforts of oratory ever before heard in the South." He had no doubt that much good would result from the discussion, but there was not always a belief that rhetoric possessed any practical advantages. Criticising the Memphis convention, Alexander Walker of New Orleans said that one learned bishop had occupied a day in describing the entomology, the topography, the biography, of baboons, insects, and reptiles of the Amazon, while the Mississippi River had been treated as a millpond. Alluding to Captain Pike, who was much given to oratory, and who soared to the galleries occupied by ladies, he said that there seemed to be an idea that poetry and oratory were the essential elements in all speeches acceptable to the convention. William H. Garland said that passing resolutions or indulging in pleasing fancies would accomplish nothing. Pike, retorting, said that Walker was represented as being at the head of every wild-goose scheme in the country. "Railroads have banished poetry and music from the whole world except Arkansas," was Walker's

parting shot, "and the gentleman from Arkansas continues the last sad vestige of the past age of poetry and song." 1

This was one of the characteristic episodes in the convention at New Orleans, where Pike had told the occupants of the galleries that their presence would tend to prevent disputes from degenerating into quarrels. Quarrels could not always be avoided. At Knoxville, during the debate upon the admission of reporters, B. C. Yancey appealed from the decision of the chair, then occupied by De Bow. The chair was sustained by a vote of 85 to 19, but later, when another subject was under consideration, Yancey protested "against the president constituting himself autocrat, and thwarting the privileges of the body."

"Order, order, order," was the cry from other delegates; and Yancey said that if any gentleman was disposed to interrupt him, he would like him to do it face to face.

Partridge had a similar experience at Vicksburg, though he and others emphasized the quarrel by leaving the convention. The example for such action had been set in New Orleans, in a railroad meeting in 1851. Two routes for a proposed railroad had been suggested. Dissatisfied with the action of the majority, the advocates of one route withdrew and held a separate convention.

These events were but typical of the want of cooperation, the prejudices and conflicting opinions, of which evidence was also given by the situation at Memphis, described by a critic as every planter who had a dozen negroes wanting a railroad running in front

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 634; xxiv. 574.

of his house, and every man who had fifty negroes wanting one running by his house and another by his kitchen.

The conventions may have consolidated public opinion in the South, but that opinion was not of a kind to benefit the South materially. They undoubtedly strengthened the acquaintance of widely separated Southerners with each other; but they were not sufficient to overcome the impediments arising from natural surroundings, strengthened by human habit. Their conception was excellent. Their results were contrary to the true interests of the South.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

SLAVERY as an institution in the South assumed three phases, - social, economic, and political. By 1835 it had wrought its work socially; it was still to continue to affect the South commically; and as a political factor it was to increase in power, dividing great ecclesiastical bodies, disrupting two parties just reorganized for their national contest, and finally embroiling the country in armed strife. It so permeated society that few questions could be considered without reference to it; it was the burden of observation by English travellers and visitors from the North, and was the text of thousands of pages of manuscript used in newspapers, magazines, or bulky volumes, and of thousands more used in addresses from the pulpit, in legislative bodies, and on the stump, in which its evils were confessed by Southern men, and its advantages for both races were set forth.

Without accepting for an instant the comfortable but dangerous theory of the end justifying the means which more than once animated pro-slavery arguments, it is interesting to regard the facts of the institution as pictured by Southerners who were honest in the utterances, or in the impressions of visitors received favorably by them.

In the first place the average number of slaves held

was less than ten to each owner. In a total of 347,525 owners in 1850, — and about the same proportion existed in 1860, — but 7,929 owned more than fifty slaves, 174,503 owned less than five, and 165,093 between five and fifty. In nine States and the District of Columbia the majority of holders owned less than five slaves; in ten States but fifty-six held between 300 and 500; in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina there were nine owners of between 500 and 1,000, and South Carolina alone was credited with two men owning more than 1,000 each. By 1860 the number of holders decreased in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and the number in all the South increased to 384,753.

A rough estimate, for an exact one was impossible, classed 400,000 slaves in 1850 as urban, and the remainder, amounting to 2,500,000, as rural; and of the latter, 60,000 as being engaged in the cultivation of hemp, 125,000 in rice, 150,000 in sugar, 350,000 in tobacco, and 1,815,000 in cotton, leaving about 300,000 in other pursuits or in the superannuated ranks. Upon occupations and the size of the holdings depended largely the condition of the slaves, though these were

• ¹ See Appendix F, Table 1. Samuel Hairston of Pittsylvania County, Va., was reputed to be the wealthiest man in the State. A statement circulated at the time made him out to be the owner of 1,600 or 1,700 slaves, with the prospect of acquiring 1,000 more from his wife's mother. His slaves increased so rapidly that he was obliged to purchase a large plantation every year upon which to settle them. His plantations were in several counties of Virginia and North Carolina. Marshall Hairston of Henry County, Va., was said to own 700 slaves, and Robert and Hardin Hairston of Mississippi, 1,000 and 600 respectively.

not always safe criterions. Among owners in Virginia and other border States, who held but few slaves, existed an idyllic, patriarchal life that was not always possible among men in the cotton belt or sugar regions, owning plantations in different sections, and of necessity compelled to leave details to overseers. The house servants in Charleston or Savannah, in close personal and confidential touch with master and mistress, and with opportunities to acquire a certain degree of booklearning, and much more valuable culture in morality and refinement, were quite different from the workers in the rice-fields or among the cane, many of whom were steeped in the superstition of barbarism, and clung to African gibberish fifty years after they had passed from the decks of the slaver.

To control this element was the aim of much colonial legislation; and the St. Domingo insurrection, Gabriel's uprising in 1800, the plot in Charleston in 1822, the Southampton massacre by Nat Turner in 1831, the mild emancipation in the West Indies, and political and personal agitation of abolition in this country, caused many laws to be revived, and others of equal severity in intent to be enacted.

The Code Noir and its modifications of Louisiana and the laws of South Carolina were probably the most striking illustrations of the extent to which the State was concerned in the relations of master and slave. While framed by the master, they were not devoid of provisions for the protection and comfort of the bondsman, and yet had features that were the subject of condemnation on the part of men who were acquainted with them. Judge J. B. O'Neall, in his comments upon

the Carolina code, criticised the slight penalties enforced for offences against slaves; suggested, in view of the continual change of masters and the consequent rending of family ties among slaves, that the latter should be attached to the freehold of their owners; noted the necessity for the enforcement, by heavy penalties, of the law regarding sufficient covering and food for slaves; and added that "Unjust laws or unmerciful management of slaves fall upon us and our institutions with more withering effect than anything else." 1

Judge John Perkins of Louisiana, in a charge to the grand jury of his circuit in 1853, quoted the views of O'Neall, announced that the first law of slavery was kindness to the slave, reviewed the humane provisions of the Code, and stated that agitation in the free States had led to the enactment of a law against teaching slaves to read and write, "a statute opposed to the spirit of and unknown to our early legislation." Two years later the people of North Carolina were debating laws for the legal marriage of slaves, the cultivation of their domestic relations, and the repeal of the law against education. Such were some of the sentiments supplementing legal measures to mitigate the conditions of slavery without advancing to the position of emancipation.

With the exception of a campaign in Kentucky in 1849, about the last State movement for emancipation was in Virginia in 1831–1832, when there was a prolonged debate in the legislature, and a narrow escape from the adoption of a general measure. Virginians had been prominent in the earlier philanthropic undertak-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, vii. 271.

ings; but this later agitation was, according to Professor Thomas R. Dew, who reviewed it, the result of the Nat Turner insurrection. It could no more be credited to to pure philanthropy than could the logical act of Massachusetts in 1780 be attributed to pure utilitarianism.

Many of the constitutions of the States prohibited emancipation by the legislature without the consent of the owner and compensation to him; and South Carolina, by act of 1820, prohibited emancipation except by an act of the legislature. Later, when John Randolph's conduct in freeing his slaves by will, and leaving \$8,000 for their settlement on free soil, was called "the shocking example of John Randolph," some of the States, that had not already done so, prohibited emancipation or discouraged it; and New Mexico as a Territory enacted a slave code in 1858. These acts were intended

1 Quite a number of the new States had constitutional provisions similar to those of Alabama made in 1819. These were as follows: "The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners or without paying their owners previous to such emancipation a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State: Provided, that such person or slave be the bona fide property of such emigrants: And provided, also, that laws may be passed to prohibit the introduction into this State of slaves who have committed high crimes in other States or Territories. They shall have power to pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors and preventing them from becoming a public charge.

to combat the rapidly developing anti-slavery sentiment, that was not confined to the North, but which was observed in 1858 by a Southerner as prevailing principally, as he said, among men of Northern origin, in Delaware, Maryland, northern and western Virginia, eastern and northern Kentucky, western North Carolina, eastern and northern Tennessee, and in the cities of the Gulf States.

It was not always possible for the law to take cognizance of offences against slaves, even had they had equal rights with whites in courts of law. "I know of no class of men," wrote G. D. F. Jameson of South Caro-

They shall have full power to prevent slaves from being brought into this State as merchandise, and also to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary food and clothing, to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb, and in case of neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of the owner or owners.

"In the prosecution of slaves for crimes of higher grade than petit larceny, the General Assembly shall have no power to deprive them of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

"Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person and in the like proportion, except in case of insurrection of such slave."

The relation of the State to the owners of slaves under such a constitution was similar to that of the general government to individual States, enunciated by Congress in 1861 within a month after the organization of six cotton States of the provisional Confederate government, in the proposed amendment to the Constitution that no amendment should be made to the Constitution that would authorize or permit Congress to interfere within any State with the institution of slavery.

lina, in 1857, "who have higher duties to perform than the planters of the South. The cultivator of the soil is a ruler. The slave-owner is more - he is, to a certain extent, necessarily a despot. He makes the regulations which govern his plantation, and he executes them. It is true he is amenable to public opinion for his acts, and any flagrant outrage is visited by the laws; but there are a thousand incidents of plantation life concealed from public view, which the laws cannot reach." 1 A slaveholder for twenty-five years in Mississippi contended, too, that as late as 1847, there were planters who. looking only for large crops, left out of view the value of negro property and the possibility of its deterioration through unskilful usage. Dr. Josiah C. Nott of Alabama, comparing the liability of slaves to disease with that of other laboring classes, and alluding to the kindness and indulgence generally displayed toward them. acknowledged that, in many instances, when it ceased to be the interest of the owner to preserve the life of the slave, he would cease to be careful of it; and that any man who would drive a horse cruelly would drive a negro or operative to death if he could gain anything by doing so.

Harriet Martineau observed that persons from New England, France, or England, becoming slaveholders, were found to be the more severe masters; and Sir Charles Lyell, the scientist, said that it was notorious that the hardest taskmasters were those persons who came to the South from the Northern free States. John A. Calhoun made no such sectional distinction when he wrote that masters were often much to blame for inad-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxii. 189.

vertently encouraging overseers, interested only in the year's crop results, in overworking the slaves.

With plenty to eat, some slaves were yet overworked; and among them was not heard the cheerful song of the happy negro. The Southern Cultivator noted, in 1850, that one of the most prolific sources of disease among the negroes was the condition of their houses, small, low, and filthy, with rank weeds and grass on every side, interspersed with fruit-trees, little patches of vegetables, and hen-houses. Washing and cooking after nightfall. the hiring of slaves by cotton planters to the sugar planters at one season of the year, were instances of the strain under which some negroes were kept. But in the population of the South there was a variety of masters; and though some were so short-sighted as to neglect the producer in the contemplation of the product, others, and they the great majority, were inspired by kindly feeling and by self-interest to keep their slaves in comfort and plenty.

Some descriptions of typical plantations may not be amiss in this connection. On one Mississippi plantation the quarters for one hundred and fifty negroes were twenty-four houses standing among the trees. They were in a double row, fifty feet apart, on an avenue two hundred feet wide. They were of hewn logs, and had close plank floors, two feet above the ground, and good chimneys. At one end of the avenue were the overseer's house, the workshop, tool-house, and wagon-sheds; at the other, grist and saw mill, and the cistern. Each hand was given four pounds of clear meat and a peck of meal, with seasonable vegetables, each week; each male received four suits of clothes and two pairs of shoes, and

each female a calico dress and two handkerchiefs a year, and all were allowed firewood. Two hours at midday were devoted to eating and rest. Each head of a family had his hen-house and truck-patch; he was not permitted to sell, as was the case on some plantations, but in lieu thereof was given five dollars at Christmas, and sent to town in charge of an overseer or driver to enjoy himself.

The overseer was the only white man on ex-Governor Aiken's plantation on Jehossee Island, between Mavannah and Charleston. The engineers, millers, smiths, carpenters, and sailors were blacks. Time was allowed the seven hundred hands to raise their own crops for sale. They occupied eighty-four double cottages, and nearly all had gardens paled in.

I' C' Weston enforced strict rules upon the overseer of his rice estate in South Carolina. The first business of the overseer, he announced, was the care and wellbeing of the negroes. In dealing out allowances of food the measures were to be heaped, not struck, and extras wore to be given at Christmas. No work was allowed on Good Friday, Christmas, and Sunday. On Saturdaya, except during planting and harvest, half-tasks only were done. No punishment was to exceed fifteen laches. If other was thought to be necessary, application was to be made to the owner or to a designated neighbor. Confinement was preferred to whipping; and stoppage of special allowances on certain Saturdays, and all-day work on half-holidays, were deemed sufficient punishment for ordinary offences. Special care was commanded to prevent indecency in the punishment of women, and no driver or other negro was to punish any person except by order of the overseer and in his presence. The rules, which were similar to those in many a plantation book, had the significant statements that the owner would judge of the usefulness of the overseer, first, by the general well-being, the appearance, respectful manners, active and vigorous obedience of the slaves, and the completion of tasks well and early, the small amount of punishment necessary, the excess of births over deaths, the small number of persons in the hospital, and the health of the children; secondly, by the condition and fatness of cattle and mules, good repair of fences and buildings, harness, boats, ploughs, etc.; and thirdly, by the amount and quality of rice and provision crops.

Thirty-six hands on Colonel H. W. Huntingdon's plantation in Louisiana made 500 bales of cotton and 6,000 bushels of corn a year. They went to work at daylight, and left the fields at dark, having an hour for breakfast, and an hour in winter and three hours in summer for dinner. Half a day on Saturday was given them to attend to their washing, and for the cultivation of a piece of land and the care of poultry. The products of the little patches were bought by the master, or were sold by his permission to new settlers; and it was estimated that a slave was able to earn in that way at least \$100 a year. The hands were encouraged to marry, a register was kept of the births, and young and aged were cared for in sickness. Nurseries for children, and hospitals for the women and others, were had in many instances; and a regular doctor, if not the family physician, attended them.

The use of the lash in punishment was not uncom-

mon, and Dr. Cartwright of New Orleans discussed in a serio-comic strain the process of "whipping the devil out of them;" and said that, if any were, after kind treatment, "inclined to raise their heads to a level with their master or overseer, humanity and their own good require that they should be punished until they fall into that submissive state which it was intended for them to occupy." But Joseph Acklen, of the same State, in announcing to his overseer that whipping was the only punishment to be permitted, added, "I object to having the skin cut, or my negroes marked in any way by the lash. It can always be avoided. I will most certainly discharge any overseer who strikes a negro with a club or the whip-butt." And Robert Collins, of Macon, Ga., pointed to the fact that any attempt to force the slave beyond reasonable service by cruelty or harsh treatment, instead of securing the object sought, tended to make the slave unmanageable, unprofitable, a vexation, and a curse.1

Other methods than whipping, which at that period was by no means limited to slaves, were adopted most successfully. From the early times in the history of slavery in this country the religious status of the bondsman had been discussed, and many slaves had been instructed at home or in Sunday-schools and church. But the Rev. Whiteford Smith, in a sermon before the South Carolina Legislature, credited the Palmetto State with the discovery that "oral instruction of them in the elementary principles of practical and experimental religion was compatible with public safety, and even tributary to the masters' interests." His frame of

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Recieic, xxii. 379; xvii. 422.

mind, the normal one in South Carolina, at least at that period, was shown in his statement that, "When the battle-cry of fanaticism was raised in its first serious attack upon the slave institution, its first bold repulse was from the Christian church, whose adamantine fortification was the Word of God." And the Rev. Dr. Thornwell, in his sermon at the dedication of a church built for the negroes by the whites of Charleston, called it an opportunity to give another illustration of what experience had demonstrated, that Christianity was a "defence of every institution that contributes to the progress of man." "Go on in this noble enterprise," he said, "until every slave in our borders shall know of Jesus and the resurrection, and the blessings of God will attend you, and turn back the tide of indignation which the public opinion of the world is endeavoring to roll upon you."1

Dr. Thornwell and the leading clorgymen of his day were sincere and zealous in encouraging the religious instruction of the negroes, and on many a plantation they were called to family prayers; and ministers, either white or of their own color, were employed to preach, to baptize, to marry, and to bury the dead. Where the slaves could not get to church, they were frequently instructed by the master or by the young women of the family. It was estimated, in 1854, that one-fourth of the slaves in South Carolina were Methodists, that one-third of the members in the synod of South Carolina were blacks, and that more than half the Baptists in Virginia were of the same race. In 1859, of 468,000 negro church-members in the South, 215,000 were

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, x. 487.

classed as Methodists, and 175,000 as Baptists. For benevolent purposes 5,000 slaves in South Carolina contributed \$15,000 in 1853; and one-third of the negro population in Savannah supported three pastors at salaries ranging from \$800 to \$1,000 a year. "A vigorous and vehement style," it was said, "both in doctrine and manner, is best adapted to the temperament; they are good believers in mysteries and miracles, ready converts, and adhere to their opinions when formed." 1 A gentleman of Georgia left by will \$200 for the instruction of slaves, because he had observed that it developed a stronger sense to obey, as they feared to offend against the obligations of religion. In a publication for the use of planters, it was stated that the custom of devoting an hour every Sunday to the moral and religious instruction of the negroes had been thoroughly tested with satisfactory results in many parts of the South, both from the practical and the moral standpoint.

To the contention that the denial of education prevented slaves from deriving religious instruction from the Bible, the reply was made by a church paper that the Scriptures were read in the churches every Sunday, "those very passages which inculcate the relative duties of masters and servants in consequence of the textual connection" being more frequently read than any other portions of the Bible; that millions of persons were in heaven who had never owned a Bible; and that there were more pious people among the blacks than among any similar class in the world.

Many slaves learned to read in spite of laws and

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xvii. 425.

of the feeling that to educate them would make them dangerous to the master. If the majority of them learned to read the Bible only, they could have had no superior text-book of English undefiled.

Religious instruction could not avoid developing at times a humorous phase, as when an infidel, convinced of its advantages for slaves, undertook to teach them religion, or when the prayer-meeting followed close upon the heels of the dance. For some masters saw to it that diversion should be afforded on Saturday night. On one plantation "Brother Abram," the foreman of the prayer-meeting, was regularly called on, by the preacher in charge, to close the exercises; and he was described as singing with great unction, and as always casting his eyes at "Charley," the fiddler, as if to say, "Old fellow, you had your time last night, now it is mine." 1

That the efforts of masters to correct habits of loose virtue by preaching decency and by punishing lapses from marital obligations, and the painstaking and sustained work of the churches and individuals, had but little effect upon the mass in cultivating practical religion and morality, is not surprising when it is remembered that not until 1808 were the negroes removed from the influence of additions to their number fresh from the Dark Continent, with their worship of fear affecting in no wise their personal conduct, and that slavery itself involved circumstances not calculated to encourage domestic life or a religious frame of mind. Civilization, even among races of the highest culture, has always been hampered by the wide acceptance of rules of practice directly opposed to the principles of the founder of

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, x. 625.

Christianity, religion being often more a matter of profession than of conduct. To have expected the majority of slaves to become real Christians would have been to expect a miracle.

Still, the work of earnest, conscientious teachers of the slaves did much to strengthen the ties of genuine affection and friendliness, dating from the period of the nursery and the companionships of childhood, and continued until the third and fourth generations. A nine-years-old boy reading the Dispatch in 1861 to his master, whose eyesight was dim; a woman making a temporary loan to her owner; a professional man borrowing a dollar from his servant to make a contribution for the New Orleans sufferers; a South Carolina gentleman refusing, except at night, to leave his slaves during a cholera epidemic; and the cheerfulness and light-heartedness generally observed among the negroes, - are a few pictures of the good will existing between the whites and slaves, manifested also in the kindness shown the slaves in times of merry-making and affliction; and, later on, in the spectacle of millions of blacks refraining from rapine and pillage and other acts of violence in the midst of a war that carried many a natural protector of the home to distant parts for an indefinite time.1

<sup>1</sup> A contrast of lights and shadows of the institution was given in the following letter from a woman asking pardon of a governor for a fourteen-year-old boy condemned to death for theft. "The mother of this ill-fated boy," she wrote, "has served me with no common fidelity from her childhood. As the nurse of my children, she has had the fullest confidence reposed in her. Her uprightness and assiduity in discharging the important duties of this station have merited my entire approba-

The flight of even one thousand a year to free soil, conceding that all those who passed for fugitive slaves were victims of cruelty, and not of a discontent born of rose-tinted generalizations, was not a denial of the generally comfortable condition of the slaves. Statistics indicate the contrary. In 1850 the number of insane and idiotic among the negro population of the South was one in 1,805, or, excluding the free negro, one in 2,123, and among the negroes of the North, one in 709. The percentage of insanity and idiocy was greater in the North than in the South among the free negroes; of insanity alone, greater, and of idiocy alone, less.1 In 1860 there were living 688 blacks, 46 mulattoes, 440 whites, and 26 Indians, more than one hundred years old; and of 466 centenarians who died in that year, 290 were slaves, 39, free negroes, and 137, whites.

These figures may in themselves be of slight weight, were the deductions from them not sustained by the impressions of Northerners resident in the South, or of

tion. This is the first instance of misconduct which has occurred among a family of servants remarkable for their devotion to the interests of myself and my children. Two of the men in the prime of life were drowned in attempting to save some of our property, and they all risked their lives in rescuing furniture from the fire which consumed our dwelling. During fifteen years of widowhood the services of these faithful creatures have mitigated the evils of my lot, and aided me in maintaining my fatherless children. In short, few persons have, like myself, found friends among the slaves of their household.

"I shudder with horror when I think of the severity of a law, of whose existence I was ignorant until the awful penalty was denounced on one of my household." [Southern Literary Messenger, ix. 663.]

1 See Appendix E, Table 8.

control to that acction. Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, who had abundant opportunities of forming a judgment during her married life in the South, regarded the slaves as the happenst laboring class in the world, even granting all that could be truthfully said of their trials and sufference. The Rev. De Nehemiah Adams, whose hist public was a fice to a before he went South for his health, was no acceptable of the New Figure Linguistics.

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of address," he wrote, "he can rouse up the deep philanthropy of freemen, like a ground-swell of the sea, in overwhelming pity and compassion for him; while the only unhappiness, after all, in his particular case, was that he could not have laws to countenance and defend him in putting away his wife, who had committed no crime against him, and marrying another." 1

Another Northerner who had travelled extensively summarized the situation, while pointing out evils, in the statement that the condition of the slave as to food, clothing, lodging, comfort in infancy, sickness, and in old age, and relations with masters and with each other, was better than that of millions of the laboring population of Europe, and thousands of the same class in America.

Slavery did not affect alone the class in bondage. Free negroes suffered the disadvantages of belonging to the servile race. Against them were framed at various periods laws to prevent their becoming an element of disturbance among the slaves. Like Indiana in 1858, and Illinois in 1850, that forbade the migration of free negroes into their borders, or the bringing of slaves into the State for purposes of emancipation, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, and Texas prohibited the immigration of that class. While Eastern shoremen in Maryland were seeking means to regulate the free black population, Missouri's lower house, intensifving an act of 1845, passed an act declaring that all free negroes, with some exceptions, found in the State in 1860, should be declared slaves, and be sold by the sheriff. Arkansas provided that all living in that State in 1860 should be hired out for a year, the wages to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adams's "Southside View of Slavery," 86.

paid to them at the end of that time, and they to be warned to leave the State under penalty of being sold; and Mississippi gave them until November, 1859, to leave. Preferring slavery to banishment, some free negrees selected masters, and one man secured ten additional hands in that way.

Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia had express provisions in their laws against the instruction of free negroes. Such enactments were based upon a feeling similar to that which enforced the black code of 1833-1838 in Connecticut, mobbed the school at Canaan, N.H., in 1835, boycotted teachers in Cincinnati in the same year, and subjected the school to mob violence. That the laws were in many cases merely the result of the exigencies of the moment is shown by the dates of their enactment, and by the fact that the census enumerators found 4,314 free negroes at school in all the Southern States except Mississippi, in 1850, in a total of 26,461; and 3,331 in all, in 1860, in a total in the country of 32,629, Maryland, the District of Columbia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Delaware leading in the number of such pupils. In 1850 the same number of free negro children in proportion to that class of the population were at school in New Orleans and New York.

Restrictions upon them could not drive the free negroes from the South. In 1790, 37,357 were living in the South, and 22,109 in the North. Seventy years later 261,918 and 226,152 were in the respective sections. Between 1830 and 1860 they increased 57 per cent in the South, and 47 per cent in the North. In 1850 Maryland alone had more than three times as

many as the whole of New England, more than half the number in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and 27,941 more than the other free States and Territories. Delaware and the District of Columbia had more free negroes than slaves in their population in 1860, and Maryland had about 4,000 more slaves than free negroes.

In the whole country, the presence of the free negro reduced the percentage of the increase of their race in every decade after 1830; and between 1850 and 1860 their number increased 15 per cent in the North, and 9 per cent in the South,—Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas having a net loss of 673; Florida showing no change; Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri, South Carolina, and Tennessee having an increase of less than 1,000 each; and Maryland having the greatest increase, 9,219, of the other five States. In the preceding decade the North's increase was about one per cent greater than the South's; but between 1830 and 1840 the percentage of increase was 29 in the South, and 11 in the North.

Attachment to the soil was as great in the free negro as in the members of any other race, and to it were added legal difficulties in the way of any large movement in the South. Of 236,144 natives in the South in 1850, but 14,862 were living in States where they had not been born; while 59,055 of the 192,243 in the North had been born elsewhere than in the State of their habitat. The larger number of migrants in the North was partly the result of accretions from the South through flight or emancipation by owners, which lessened the increase in the latter section, but which were

partly inhanced by the effects of dimute. This had iverted thereby in the North and its influence was not commenced by the confirms of freedom.

In the North, by 1840 in 1850, there had been a lesoled change if sentiment overall the free negro since
the time when the infinipping of freelmen for sale in
the South had been permitted in New York and its
vicinity? A larger number were given elemanoral
facilities there, but otherwise their discumstances were
presentably no better than those of their Southern kinsmen. In the South they were alterse to labor in the
usual pursuits of slaves; in the North they were congregated in the purhens if othes to swell the list of
vice crime, and insense, and compelled by lack of opportunity or inclination to engage in no oparities monopolized by the whites, to compy in stimental positions.

Of negroes in we than infloed years (b) in 1850, one in 160 in Connections one in 12 in Louisiana, one in 50 in New York City, and one in 11 in New Orleans, were in occupations requiring an education.<sup>1</sup> Free blacks in

1 See Appendix F. Table 2. There were fewer furitives in 1860 than in 1850 in all the Southern States except Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, South Carolina, and Virginia. The totals were 1.011 in 1850, and 863 in 1880. More slaves were freed in 1860 than in 1850 in all the States, except Plorida and Delaware, the total increasing from 1.487 in 1850, to 3,678 in 1860.

<sup>2</sup> In 1781, when slaves represented less than 14 per cent of the population, upon a rumor of an intended insurrection, 13 were burned, 18 were hanged, and 70 were transported by New York.

\* In Connecticut they were occupied as mariners, farmers, laborers, servants, shoemakers, barbers, cooks; in Louisiana, as earmen, carpenters, laborers, masons, planters, tailors, merchants, and shoemakers.

Connecticut owned \$215,535 in real estate, and free mulattoes, \$88,000. The same classes in Louisiana owned \$311,465 and \$3,958,830 respectively, the bulk of the property belonging to residents of New Orleans; while the negroes of New York owned but \$107,310. In Barnwell, Beaufort, and Charleston districts, South Carolina, 58 free negroes owned less than \$1,000 each in real estate, 10 owned between \$1,000 and \$5,000, and 2 between \$5,000 and \$10,000.

Could the history of these real-estate owners be known, it would probably show that, while the accumulations of the Northern negroes were largely the result of their own exertions, those in the South were partly at least the outcome of help given by the white race, either from friendship, or in the desire to rectify a great wrong.

In both sections such opulence was the exception among the free negroes; and, barring freedom, they were in a more unfortunate plight than many slaves, especially when old age came upon them. <sup>1</sup> English trav-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The difference in this respect between slavery and freedom for negroes was illustrated in Prince Edward County, Va. Richard Randolph, who died in 1790, provided in his will that his 72 slaves should be freed, and he gave 400 acres of land for their settlement. The place afterward had the name of "Israel Hill," and was within a few miles of Farmville. In less than fifty years the place had a population of about 100, the men neglecting the tilling of the ground, and preferring to work on the batteaux plying between Lynchburg and Richmond, and the women being generally dissolute. On the other hand, gentlemen connected with a church in the same county bought in 1767 two negro girls. They and their descendants were hired out annually, and the proceeds were used in payment of the pastor's salary.

ellers noted the existence in the North of antagonism to freedmen; and one of them, William Chambers, of Chambers's Journal, alluding to New England, wrote as follows: "Affecting to weep over the sufferings of imaginary darkskinned heroes and heroines, denouncing in well-studied platform oratory the horrid sin of reducing human beings to the abject condition of chattels, bitterly scornful of Southern planters for hard-hearted selfishness and depravity, fanatical on the subject of abolition, wholly frantic at the spectacle of fugitive slaves seized and carried back to their owners, these very persons are daily surrounded by manumitted slaves or their educated descendants, yet shrink from them as if the touch were pollution, and look as if they would expire at the bare idea of inviting one of them to their house or table." 1

Explaining this prejudice, Simms wrote that emancipation, placing the negro in a position for which he was not fitted, brought him into competition with a people to whom he was morally and physically inferior, and thus provoked hatred, and rendered him liable to injury. His personal freedom was hedged in the South. He was liable in some parts to taxation for the support of schools to which he could not send his children, though the taxes were nothing compared to what the education of his children would have cost; the privilege of the ballot was denied him, Tennessee in 1834, and North Carolina in 1835, being the last States in the South to limit the suffrage to whites, as Connecticut did in 1818, New

The descendants of the two girls numbered 70 when, in the early thirties, they were sold, and the money thus derived was invested otherwise.

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xviii. 451.

Jersey in 1820, New York in 1821, Pennsylvania in 1838, and the Western States as they were organized. But he was relieved of more than one of the duties of citizenship; "for which exemptions," said Simms, referring to the class in South Carolina, "the white mechanic and laborer would be very glad to pay ten times the amount paid by the free negroes as a capitation tax." Free negroes were despised rather than hated, but their presence in the community was regarded as a menace, especially when the abolition movement became aggressive; and though some gained and held a place of comparative comfort and security, the mass came under the obloquy attached to slavery, without participation in the benefits enjoyed by the average bondsman.

Reaching still higher, slavery's bane extended to the white race. The argument that the infusion of an inferior class of beings into the midst of those who from whatever cause were their superiors was detrimental, advanced against the opening of the slave-trade, may be applied to the relations of slaves and whites. Not only was the climatic-born aversion to labor strengthened among slaveholders by the presence of the black race, but the consequent caste spirit was a damper upon the energy of those whose situation demanded that they should work with their hands. Slavery helped to widen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, iii. 641. Two attempts were made in New York to give equal suffrage to negroes. The proposed constitutional amendment of .1846 was rejected by a vote of 224,336 to 85,406, and a similar one of 1860 by a vote of 337,984 to 197,503. At the time when suffrage was extended to them in the District of Columbia in 1867, they were distinctly prohibited from voting in nine Northern States, and were limited in others.

the difference between poverty and affluence, creating false distinctions that are unwholesome in any community. It stood in the way of commerce and manufactures, weakening the tendencies that could have created a well-balanced South. It was full of pitfalls for the young, exposed to the indelicate and lascivious manners and conversation of many of the blacks, and was the medium for making a crime against society, coeval with civilization, one against nature, with the possible horrors involved in the accidents and customs of the institution.<sup>1</sup>

Apologetics for this evil were advanced by a few men. One writer of eminence contended that it produced a fine specimen of physical manhood, and that in a few generations the color of the black, that otherwise would forever prove a separating wall between the races, would be removed. Another, calling attention to the natural repulsion from the inferior and servile class, argued that the negro woman who lapsed from virtue did not materially impair her character or her means of support, did no great injury to herself or any one else, and that her offspring was not a burden but an acquisition to her owner, and if the child of a freeman, his condition would perhaps be better than that of his mother. Such arguments must not be regarded as advocacy of the evil; for their context shows that it was emphatically denounced, and that the conditions pictured were contrasted with those of the North in the same particular.

That this peculiar social evil was not confined to the South, and was by no means extensive in its visible effects in that section, is shown by the census. Thirty per cent of the negro population in the North in 1860 were classed as mulattoes, and 12 per cent of that in the South. The percentage of mulattoes among free negroes in the South was 40, and among slaves, 10. The percentage among free negroes was less in the South and greater in the North than in 1850, and slightly greater among slaves. This difference may be accounted for by the movement of the more active and ambitious mulattoes to the North, but the mulattoes in that section were not all of Southern

Many of the evils were deplored by Southerners; but that did not prevent a readiness on the part of the leaders to defend the institution. After the revival in the early thirties of the slavery discussion, Professor Dew was about the first man of prominence to step into the arena with a philosophic argument in favor of "the Atlas upholding the social system." He wrote for a specific purpose, reviewing the position of "the abolitionists" of the Virginia Assembly. Presently he was joined by Chancellor Harper with his address before the South Carolina Association for the Advancement of Learning, ex-Governor Hammond in open letters to Thomas Clarkson, and William Gilmore Simms reviewing Harriet Martineau's "Society in America." Their writings, gathered later into a volume called "The Pro-Slavery Argument," had a wide circulation; and their pleas, modified to suit circumstances, appeared in other discussions

origin by any means. Cities and large towns were partly responsible for the mulatto population, the intercourse between the races being less liable to detection among the coming and going of strangers; but the town population must have been increased by migration of the mixed race from the rural districts. Richmond had, in 1860, more free blacks than free mulattoes; but in Charleston there were but 891 free blacks and 4,587 free mulattoes, 64 per cent of all in the State. New Orleans had 2,365 of the former and 8,324 of the latter, 61 per cent of those in the State; and the latter preponderated in Savannah and Mobile, while in all these cities the mulattoes were in the minority among the slaves. The failure to distinguish in the enumeration the offspring of one black and one white parent, the true mulatto, from the children of the mulatto, quadroon, and octoroon, and the black, and also the mestizos, a mixture of Indian and negro, increased the apparent number of mulattoes much beyond the actual facts.

that flooded the magazines and newspapers; in the theological disputes which divided three bodies of Christians, and caused one of them to expunge its rule against "buying men, women, and children with the intention to enslave them," because it was liable to be construed as hostile to the institution of slavery; and in the political controversies that caused parties to follow the example of churches.<sup>1</sup>

De Bow's Review, xxv. 120. The literature of slavery assumed such proportions at times that editors felt called upon to protest. Thus De Bow wrote in 1858 that it was indispensable that the material of his Review should be more varied, and that there were other topics in the world beside slavery, "the hacknayed subject of slavery and its relations," as he called it in 1860. In 1858 the Southern Literary Messenger, of which John R. Thompson was then editor, made a like protest. "Literature does not begin and end in the slavery discussion," was the comment. "If all the writers of the South should devote themselves to the exposition of the slavery doctrine, the South would have no ballada like Wilde's, no more essays on classical literature like Legare's, no more humorous sketches like Longstreet's and Baldwin's, no more novels like those of Simms and Kennedy and 'Marion Harland,' no more thoughtful researches like those of Grigsby and Trescott. Slavery, like the mustard in the French cuisine, may be pushed, in the defence of it, to absurd extremes. It is a wholesome and beneficial relation, . . . but it does not make poems, nor carve statues, nor evolve the harmonies of music. We want other culture in the South besides the cotton culture. We want the influence of literature and art."

The original "Pro-Slavery Argument" must not be confused with the later publication, "Cotton is King," having a sub-title, "Pro-Slavery Arguments." In that volume were included the essays of Hammond and Harper: but the other writers were David Christy of Cincinnati, in the argument that gave the title to the work; Alfred Taylor Bledsoe of Virginia, on "Liberty and Slavery;" the Rev. Dr. Thornton Stringfellow of Virginia,

What may be termed the Biblical argument was, that the institution was ordained of God, the consequence of sin and degradation, bestowed in mercy, and as existing in America the greatest possible blessing to the enslaved race. A resident of Missouri advised in 1855, however, that the claim of divine right of master over slave be consigned to the same grave with the divine right of kings, and that slavery should be maintained upon the claim of expediency, and the necessity and constitutionality of the South's position. The constitutionality of slavery was the main stay of the politician, who, however, did not disregard the ethnological, physiological, and other points of view.

From these it was deduced that slaves were made for their condition or they would never occupy it; that, however wrong it was in principle, slavery was excused by the stern necessity that had imposed it upon the South; that "the fathers" were responsible for the enormous evil; that England had continued to introduce slaves in spite of colonial opposition, and was desiring to free them in order to cripple or destroy the products of her successful rival; that slaves were far better situated in the South than in Africa; and that it was good fortune for some who had escaped to Sierra Leone to be kidnapped, and sold back to the United States.

It was argued that slavery was as old as society, originating in the nature of things and the necessities

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Bible Argument;" Dr. S. A. Cartwright of Louisiana, on "Slavery in the Light of Ethnology;" E. L. Elliott of South Carolina, on "Slavery in the Light of International Law;" and the Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge of Princeton, on the Fugitive Slave Law.

of man, and was prohibited neither by the moral nor by the divine law, and that there must be a servile race as long as there was division of labor, distinction in avocations, a difference in intellect, and a disproportion in wealth among men; that the existence of two castes in the same country in a state of freedom and equality was morally impossible; and that, unjustifiable as slavery was in the abstract, rights of property in slaves had been acquired, which could not be violated without an outrage destructive of the social compact.

Slavery was held to have been remarkably conservative of the free spirit of Southerners, in that it filled all low and degrading stations in society and discharged the menial offices; and in contrast was mentioned "power marching unchecked and unchallenged over the prostrate democracy of free labor and universal suffrage," where "the only use the hireling would make of his political franchise would be to sell it to the demagogue." 1

The difference between slaves and free laborers was said to be, that among the former the individual belonged to the individual master, while among the latter the class was in vassalage to a class of employers; and it was claimed that the individual master was more likely to deal kindly than the employing class with employees. Morals were drawn from the results of emancipation in the British West Indies, and comparisons were made between the blacks in the South and the white slaves of the North and of England, the reports to the House of Commons on negro slavery in the West Indies in 1832, and of the committee appointed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, i. 230.

to investigate the condition of operatives in manufactures, and the volume, "The Shame and Glory of England," furnishing ammunition for such arguments as that the evils of the institution were coincident with social organization, but were lessened in kind and degree by slavery.

The logic of comparison and of appeals to the past could not be avoided, especially when it involved New England's share in the foreign slave-trade. But the assertion that those who held slaves must approve of the reopening of the slave-trade was not logical; nor did the belief that it would be the means of checking the agitation in England and the North against slavery, by appealing to self-interest, show a real appreciation of the situation. It is difficult to determine whether this proposition and its congener, that of "African Contract Labor," which made some progress in the legislatures of Mississippi and Louisiana in 1858, both of which had

<sup>1</sup> In that connection were reproduced the words of New Englanders in the debate in 1800 on the slave-trade. The argument of one representative from Rhode Island was interesting in being almost identical in some respects with that advanced in the South. His contention was that it was the law of Africa to export persons held as slaves, that it was bad policy to make a law against a trade that was profitable, and it was wrong from a moral point of view, since the slaves were bettered by the trade. Quite different from the Southern contention, however, was his next argument. He pointed to the fact that distilleries and manufactures were idle for want of extended trade; he said that he had been well informed that, on the African coasts, New England rum was much preferred to the best Jamaica spirits; and he asked why should not rum be sent there and a profitable return be made, and why should a heavy punishment be inflicted for carrying on a trade so advantageous.

only a small support in the South, were a defiance of modern civilization, an attempt at retaliation, or a sincere purpose to provide additional laborers for the South, and check the growth of anti-slavery sentiments, The South was not agreed upon such a scheme; and while Governor Adams of South Carolina was contemplating the widening and deepening of the determination to maintain the institution through multiplying the number of slaveholders, a Mississippian said that an attempt to reopen the traffic would be resisted by the free States; and while the Charleston Mercury was asking whether the trade had not a higher motive than mere avarice, and figures were quoted to prove that the horrors of the "middle passage" had not been diminished by the co-operation of the United States and England to check the slave-trade, questions of a decidedly practical nature, such as the possible effect of a renewal of the trade upon native slaves and upon white labor, were discussed.1

Some light upon the real sentiment in the South about the matter was given in the vote in the Thirty-fifth Congress upon the item in the consular and diplomatic appropriation bill of \$75,000, to meet the expenses of carrying to Africa slaves confiscated from a slaver in Southern waters. A motion in the House to strike out the item was lost by a vote of 28 to 163, and one to reduce the appropriation to \$45,000 by a vote of 47 to 145. On the first proposition, all the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Between 1798 and 1805, of 85,000 slaves carried from Africa, 12,000, or 14 per cent, died on the way to America; and between 1830 and 1840, of 214,310, 25 per cent, or 53,500, died.

votes in the affirmative were from the South, and on the second all but one, while 19 Southern votes were against it. A similar motion in the Senate was defeated by a vote of 12 to 40, all the affirmative and 12 of the negative votes being from the South.

This movement might really be regarded as a spasm of desperation; for even the domestic slave-trade was not viewed favorably by the majority. Delaware, in 1833, had sought to check the trade with Maryland; but from the time of the migrations to the Mississippi territory until the war, the slave-marts of Baltimore, Richmond, New Orleans, and of Washington until 1850, had been a source of profit to many.

It was estimated that up to 1849 Alabama bought from border States millions of dollars worth of slaves; and the value of them in the upper tier of States was dependent not a little upon the profitableness of their labor farther South. Dew, when he wrote his pamphlet, reckoned that 6,000 slaves were carried annually from Virginia, though all of these were not sold to other States. Twenty-seven years later Edmund Ruffin thought that the annual exportation from the State exceeded the increase by births. Prices had steadily risen, and the attraction toward the cotton States was threatening to repeat on the border the history of earlier slavery in the free States. "Has not the high price of slaves," was asked in 1860, "done Virginia incredible injury, deprived her of labor which she imperiously needs, made many a man a non-slaveholder who would have held his slaves if he could, prevented many men from becoming slaveowners who desired earnestly to hold them, and so created in our midst a tremendous instrument for Black Republican principles to play upon?" 1

But the selling of negroes was not the rule. The more unruly of them were likely to be sent to the mart as a last resort; some estates could be divided only by a sale of the property, including the slaves; and debt, or other necessities, added to the number of those who were carried to the farther South, because big prices were paid for them. Kindly feeling for their bondsmen, not unmixed with pride, led some owners to refuse to sell them when in straitened financial circumstances. It

1 Southern Literary Messenger, xxxi. 473. The average valuation of 5,156 slaves in Nashville, in 1845, was 8530. Those belonging to the Saluda factory in South Carolina were sold, in 1852, at an average price of \$597, the highest prices ranging from \$900 to \$1,000 for "boys" between sixteen and twenty-five years of age. In the same year, at the settlement of an estate in Charleston, one slave brought \$1,425. Purchases made in Lynchburg, in 1855, for a tobacco factory, averaged \$1,400. Thirty negroes were sold at Marshall C.H., Texas, in 1857, for \$29,490, one twenty-two-year-old man bringing \$1,890 and another aged twenty-three bringing \$1,910. In Mississippi, in 1858, a man twenty-six years old brought \$2,050, but in the same year an estate of eighty-six slaves was sold in Virginia at an average of \$702. Though sixteen traders were present at the sale, with \$500,000 in their pockets, only five of the slaves were secured by them, the others going to people of the neighborhood. Slavery in Virginia in 1860, when 490,865 were owned, was estimated to be worth \$250,000,000, an average of \$509 for each slave; and a dealer of Baltimore paid for thirtyseven slaves between Feb. 2 and May 18, the majority of them in the prime of life, an average price of \$636.75. When slaves were worth from \$60 to \$100 in Guinea, they brought \$600 in Cuba, and in the United States a higher price prevailed.

might be necessary to clothe them in patched garments, but plenty of food was given them; and even when "refugeeing" with their property after war had begun, owners refused to part with their retainers for gold becoming scarcer day by day.

The many practical evils of slavery had been predicted in 1787 by at least one Southerner. In the constitutional debates of that year, George Mason of Virginia said that slavery discouraged the arts and manufactures, that the poor despised labor when it was performed by slaves, and that slaves prevented the immigration of whites, who really enriched and strengthened a country, and that they produced a most pernicious effect upon manners. He displayed wonderful foresight in stating his objections to the Constitution that he refused to sign, and tracing the connection between the political possibilities in the bargains of commerce and slavery, and the material conditions involved in them. "By requiring only a majority to make all commercial and navigation laws," he wrote, "the five Southern States (whose produce and circumstances are totally different from those of the eight Northern and Eastern ones) will be ruined; for such rigid and premature regulations may be made as will enable the merchants of the Northern and Eastern States not only to demand an exorbitant freight, but to monopolize the purchase of commodities at their own price for many years, to the great injury of the landed interest and the impoverishment of the people; and the danger is the greater, as the gain on one side will be in proportion to the loss on the other. . . .

"The general legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further importation of slaves for twenty years, though such importations render the United States weaker, more vulnerable, and less capable of defence." 1

The history of the early Congresses, particularly that relating to assumption of State debts, the location of the national capital, and the tariff, shows that bargaining had not ended with the adoption of the Constitution, and later compromises revolved about slavery. Extending Mason's views on commerce to manufactures, hardly thought of as a distinct issue at the time, and substituting "Southern States" for "United States," in considering the effects of the slave-trade, it cannot be denied in the light of the facts of 1860 that he was nearly correct in his position.

Other Southerners were opposed to slavery, but they had to yield at the time to the combination of Massachusetts and South Carolina; and later, persons who wished to see slavery abolished were balked by the practical difficulties that half a century had developed, and which were little changed by individual emancipation, or by deportation to Africa and freedom, the experiment tried by the American Colonization Society.<sup>2</sup> The system was regarded by one person as a great civil and social evil, identical in principle with despotism, and to be tempered by mercy and religion until, with other evils, it could be safely removed. It was deplored by another, who lamented it because of the white race, as the greatest evil that could have been inflicted on the country, to be extirpated at any cost less than the evil itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Elliot's "Debates," i. 495,496; v. 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Of the 7,592 negroes sent to Liberia between 1830 and 1852, the North sent 457 and the South 6,972, of whom 2,409 were from Virginia.

One writer, of a period when abolition had but slight force, believed that society would sooner or later find it to be in its interests to remove or to mitigate slavery, and would seek under the obligations of a Christian morality its gradual abolition or amelioration. As late as 1838 it was asserted that, whenever the South should feel that it could be done with safety to itself, and that the slaves would be benefited instead of accursed by the change, one hundred planters in any slaveholding State would contribute cheerfully double the sum it cost any State north of Mason and Dixon's line to abolish slavery.

The value of slaves in the production of staples was, of course, the fundamental reason for their remaining in bondage; but the tightening of restrictions upon them was an expression, not of harsh feeling against them, but of a determination to prevent any such act as that attempted in 1859 at Harper's Ferry, which illustrated the fanatic mind of the extreme of abolition. The halting of emancipation tendencies in the South was the result of an apprehension that they would endanger the domestic security of Southern homes, and of the natural attitude of resistance to extraneous purposes to free the blacks, whatever might be the fate of the whites.

Though Simms believed that South Carolinians might, like Pharaoh, be loath to give up the slaves when they had been raised to the possible condition of being able to go from bondage, no one can doubt that slavery would have practically disappeared from at least five Southern States, through means involving neither suffering and privation for the owners, nor unhappiness and destitution for the owned, could slavery have been prevented from becoming the mainspring of sectional hatred.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE CRISIS.

In one respect it was unfortunate for this country that great highways of transportation and travel should have been extended more rapidly from east to west than from north to south. Without the infusion into the body politic of the characteristics of the mighty West, the Greater America would have been an impossibility. But, though Southerners and Northerners came into close personal contact beyond the Alleghanies, their intercourse did not develop before 1860 sufficient power to affect favorably for harmony the two original sections of the seaboard. The inhabitants of these had, before the age of the railway and the telegraph, comparatively few opportunities to learn to know each other, and afterward their trend of travel was on parallel lines instead of on intersecting ones.

Their politicians met at Washington. But that city was the great hustings of the country; and sentiments expressed there were too frequently designed to maintain a man's popularity in his own section, rather than to cultivate friendly relations among all parts of the country. Politicians, moreover, may never be expected to beget harmony untainted by selfishness, the germ of discord.

Leisure classes mingled to some extent at the spring resorts; but the life of leisure classes is seldom an index to the character and condition of the masses. Professional men and merchants exchanged places; but they were more likely to meet in the West than to affect materially the civilization of the other sections. The South sent its buyers to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston; and the North sent its sellers to the cities and country south of the Potomac. Both classes had a certain influence, but it was hardly unifying.

There were, in fact, few factors in the expansion of the United States working toward the destruction of sectionalism, that had existed before the Constitution. The tariff never was a strictly sectional question; and by 1835 the action of the compromise act of 1833 had obscured it, just as the Missouri Compromise had put a temporary quietus upon slavery as a political element.

Contemporaneously with the Clay and Calhoun truce, however, a new movement against slavery assumed prominence in New England. It lacked the reasonableness and the moderation of the early philanthropies, that had been confined to no section; it was independent of constitutional, political, and ecclesiastical obligations; and, beginning in obscurity, grew to such dimensions as to obliterate the tariff and other measures, and to make abolition such a sectional issue that the Union was threatened with wreck.

Coincident in publicity with the massacre in Virginia, it was not deemed of sufficient importance at the time to prevent an emancipation debate in the Virginia Assembly, an utter impossibility ten years later, though it led to the mobbing of Garrison in Boston; and not until 1844, when upon its political expression in one State turned the result of a presidential election,

could it be said to have become a powerful sectional force.

Southern States took steps to prevent the logical and dangerous effects of its doctrines; and it was interjected into national affairs by endeavors on the one hand to compel the government to become a party to abolition, and on the other a defender of slavery. For several years it was under condemnation even in its birthplace, and men were unwilling to believe that it could ever become a power.

A Cambridge professor said of it, in 1835, that, "there is in this, as in other communities, always affoat a certain quantity of moral virus or noxious gas, ever and anon embodying itself in some form as this." Another Northerner expressed the hope that "no fanaticism of a faction at the North will ever so far prevail against the good sense and sound feeling of the community as to interrupt the genial flow of hospitality with which in every individual case" Northern men had been received by gentlemen of the Old Dominion. And this view was similar to the belief of an Alabamian, in 1847, that the controversy over slavery "grows out of the derangement of a few religious minds and the corruption of designing office-seekers, and that the mass of Northern people, with all their moral principle, their love of the institutions of the country, their sacred regard for the blessed constitutional freedom of these States, never will sacrifice the Union for a mere abstract idea of individual liberty."1

For a while travellers could find among the people of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southern Literary Messenger, i. 287; ii. 434; De Bow's Review iv. 117.

either section traits of character that might be advantageously cultivated by those of the other. Southern pulpits and professorial chairs could be filled by Northern men; a Washington Allston could find pleasure in the society of Sparks, Story, Longfellow, and Dana at Cambridge, where his presence was "thought a benediction;" and Harper's district school library, Mrs. Sigourney's works, and publications of the Appletons and other firms, were recommended for the use of Southern schools. As late as 1848 the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers was held by some Southerners to be the heritage of the whole country, though the virtues of the Puritan character, best exemplified in Endicott, were thought to be not without austerity, harshness, and ruggedness. Richard Yeadon of South Carolina was a speaker at the Pilgrim celebration at Plymouth in 1853; Virgil D. Parris of Maine told the Jamestown Society, in 1857, that when the time arrived his State would be found "side by side with Virginia in upholding the interests of the Union and putting down fanaticism." And Henry A. Wise wrote in the same year to the New England Society of New York. that the Pilgrims were the brothers of Virginians' forefathers, and that harmony and peace would prevail in the country if the descendants of those who fought together in the Revolution should imitate their example.

These facts are evidences of the slow growth of alienation and hostility, and of the efforts to pour oil upon the troubled waters as matters approached the crisis of 1860. It was no easy matter to induce the majority of the people of one section to sever ties that their fathers had formed, and to lead them from a po-

sition of personal irritation to one of political resent-

At the time of the birth of the last abolition movement, there were two phases of political thought in the South on the subject of the relations of the States to the Union: the one set forth earlier by Randolph of Roanoke. who, when he spoke of his country, meant the Commonwealth of Virginia; and the other, enunciated by William C. Rives, that the more one loved his State the more would one love the Union of which it was a constituent part. Both had their followers, who ultimately were led by volition or necessity to adopt the former in its extreme type. The coalescing process marked the development of nullification to its finality, and the evolution of a determination to enjoy government divided from the United States from efforts to recover lost ground and to maintain a position in the Union not justified by prevailing circumstances.

The change occurred in less than fifteen years. Its seeds had germinated for more than half a century. It was precipitated by the admission of Texas and the consequent Mexican War, the admission of California, the erection of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the prohibition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854, the campaign of Frémont in 1856, and the Dred Scott decision of 1857, were but stages in the political division upon slavery involved in the Texas question, that had cost Clay the presidency in 1844, and which made Lincoln President in 1861.

Around these acts of Congress and the Supreme Court the discussion was waged. The doctrine of State

rights, carefully recognized by Southerners in allusions to the United States as "the Confederate family," "these Confederate States," or "Co-States," emphasized once in defence of South Carolinian tariff individualism. was brought into action again when slavery was attacked. To such an extent was this the case, that it was admitted that "from the discussions of the slave interests have been derived more knowledge of the true line of demarcation between the jurisdiction of the general and State governments than from all other discussions taken together." 1 And so interwoven was slavery in the life of the South, that the onslaughts upon the peculiar institution were regarded as menaces of the civilization of that section. It was impossible to conceive of that civilization without reference to slavery; and when it was attacked through slavery, it was not difficult to confuse the issues.

The main political controversy was over the status of the slave power in the general government. On the one side were the Southern leaders determined to maintain if possible, in the Senate at least, the equilibrium between the sections, even though such a course involved the creation of new slave States in newly acquired territory. Thereby they hoped to check legislation, originating in the increasing representation of the free States in the Lower House, hostile to the institutions of the South. On the other side were leaders just as determined to destroy the equilibrium, to keep slavery within certain limits, and, in the case of the extremists, to obliterate it regardless of consequences.

Notwithstanding the magnanimity of Virginia in <sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiii. 400.

1787, New England regarded with rebellious jealousy the acquisition of Louisiana; not because of opposition to slavery upon moral grounds, but because it was so much territory added to the slaveholding section, and likely to increase its political importance. New England found quasi compensation in the drawing of the Missouri Compromise line on the parallel, by the way, marking the northern limit of the region in which cotton may profitably be grown. The danger in this compromise was shown by Jefferson, who wrote in 1820 that "A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."

Because the greater part of Texas lay below that line was the reason in part for the opposition in the North to the recognition of it as an independent republic, and in New England particularly to the Mexican War.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The process of creating a Texan republic, which might have been called filibustering had annexation not been later accomplished, was not favorably received by everyone in the South. The words of Governor McDuffie of South Carolina, in his message to the legislature at the time when the question of the recognition of the republic in arms against Mexico was discussed, were unmistakable on that point. "It is true," he wrote, "that no country can be responsible for the sympathies of its citizens; but I am at a loss to perceive what title either of the parties to this controversy can have to the sympathies of the American people. If it be alleged that the insurgents of Texas are emigrants from the United States, it is obvious to reply that, by their voluntary expatriation, under whatever circumstances of adventure, of speculation, of honor, or of infamy, - they have forfeited all claim to our fraternal regards. If it be even true that they have left a land of freedom for a land of despotism, they have

That war brought into play the persistent "Wilmot Proviso," which proposed to exclude slavery from any territory that might be acquired as a result of the contest, and which was manifest in the debates over the compromise measures of 1850. Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maine hastened to indorse the Proviso, and Massachusetts went farther in calling for the abolition of slavery. The South, that had contributed nearly two-thirds of the troops for the war, was inflamed by this purpose to debar it from sharing in the results; and while the North had been excited in 1845 by the preponderance given the South in the Senate by the admission of Florida and Texas, the South read its fate in the admission of California as a free State, in spite of the contention that the Missouri Compromise line ought to be extended to the Pacific, and form the new State's southern boundary. The straddle, extended later to Kansas and Nebraska, of permitting New Mexico and Utah to determine by their constitutions whether they were to be free-soil or slaveholding, was as unsatisfactory to the North as to the South; and neither section found the abolition of the

done it with their eyes open and deserve their destiny. There is but too much reason to believe that many of them have gone as mere adventurers, speculating upon the chances of establishing an independent government in Texas, and of seizing that immense and fertile domain by the title of the sword. But be this as it may, when they became citizens of Mexico, they became subject to the constitution and laws of the country; and whatever changes the Mexican people may have since made in that constitution and these laws, they are matters with which foreign states can have no concern, and of which they have no right to take cognizance." ["Life and Times of Memminger," 567.]

slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Law, compensatory.

From those compromises date the determined efforts to make the Southern position overshadow other issues in the parties in the South; and in the North the growth of the abolition idea as paramount over the divisions of Whigism and Democracy.

In reviewing the subject of slavery expansion, the candid student may hardly escape the conclusion that the South's advocacy of it was due partly to the desire to permit no inroads upon the intent of the Constitution adopted when the Mississippi was the western boundary of the United States, as interpreted by the constitutional debates, and by the purpose manifested in the admission of Kentucky, the cession of Tennessee, and the settlement of the Mississippi territory, of preserving the Federal balance in the matter of slavery. But at the very time when the rights of the South in this connection were being most strongly asserted in debate, its power to make practical use of them was lacking, and there was not even a united sentiment in favor of expansion.

One of the most extravagant means for compassing the end was that of Colonel Wigfall of Texas. He proposed that various portions of the Constitution should never be construed as conferring power over the slave-trade between the States or over slavery in newly acquired territory, or as allowing Congress the privilege of receiving, discussing, referring, or reporting upon any petition upon the subject of slavery; that the fifth article should be amended so as to place the compromises between the slave-holding and the non-slaveholding States upon the same basis as that between the large and the small States as to representation in the Senate; and that, after all the amendments he thought necessary had been made, others on that subject should be prohibited unless by unanimous consent of the States.

For while it was thought at one time that the negro population of the South would become too numerous to be employed as slaves, and that new territory was necessary for the accommodation of the increase, the answer was made, that even should no more territory be acquired, it was questionable whether there was need of it. Much waste land was still to be reclaimed, and the extra labor might be diverted into other lines than agriculture, such as the construction of railroads, the trades, and manufactures. One man, who advocated bringing slaves into direct competition with Northern labor, considered that the North was dependent for its existence upon the South, and contended that the rivalry would throw white mechanics out of employment, destroy merchants and manufacturers, and produce a financial crisis.

William Burwell of Virginia asserted, however, in 1856, that not only had the South an abundant area and employment for the slaves more profitable than ever, but that there was an absolute deficiency of slave labor to supply the world's demand for luxuries and necessities.

Some Southerners indorsed Walker in his filibustering schemes against Nicaragua; and his revocation of the decree abolishing slavery there led to the belief that a new State was to be added to the South, and that a foothold against Mexico had been obtained. There was some truth in the statement of a Texan in 1859, that "Thousands of rifles are sleeping in Texas, and the Southern States ready to awake at the call of a leader, and become an army of occupation in that broad territory between Monterey and the Rio Grande." Lopez had his sympathizers and abettors in his expeditions against

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxvi. 215.

Cuba; but when the garrote had put an end to his ambitions, and the annexation of the island was urged upon political and commercial grounds, and it was said that even its independence would not injure, but would benefit, Louisiana's export produce trade, and would cheapen labor, the answer was, that annexation would be fatal to the slaveholding interests of the South, particularly the sugar-planting of Louisiana and Texas, and that it would be followed by the annexation of Canada, with an impulse thereby given to protective tariffs and abolition.

Had slavery had ability to expand politically or economically, Texas would hardly have remained one State instead of becoming five, as was possible. The case of Kansas demonstrated the uselessness of an attempt on the part of slavery to expand rapidly enough to keep pace with the extension of population in the North increased by immigration.

Matching the colonizing crusade of the American Settlement Company of New York, the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts, the Kansas League, the Octagon Settlement Company, with its temperance adjunct, and the Vegetarian Settlement Company, with its vegetarian and joint-stock planks, and other organizations designed to make Kansas a free-soil State, the South, with Missouri in the lead, sought to place slave-holders there, and to form a slaveholding constitution. "Kansas must be a slave State, or the Union will be dissolved," was one cry; "If refused admission to the Union, she will undoubtedly be received by another, and the united States South will begin their career," was another.1

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xix. 440; xx. 74.

When the act of colonial Virginia in seeking to exclude slaves from its borders was quoted in a speech justifying the anti-slavery sentiment in the disputed territory, and Virginia was called the Kansas of England, the reply came that the act could only be esteemed as subversive of property rights, and that England did an eminently proper thing in vetoing it.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the contest had really begun in the territory, the work of the Lafayette Emigration Society, that claimed that one thousand slaves were in the new country in 1856, was supplemented by the Kansas Association of South Carolina, and funds were collected in New Orleans to promote the migration of such persons as proposed to become settlers. The South was told that

<sup>1</sup> This argument of Percy Roberts of Mississippi was in marked contrast with the sentiments contained in Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence. The clause relating to the slave-trade as one of the causes against George III. was as follows: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase the liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another."

unless it could maintain its ground in the election of October, 1856, all was lost; that if the slaveholding States should send two thousand immigrants, that would mean two thousand votes, and the condition of Kansas would be settled; and while one man said that there was no possibility of hostile collision, as the Federal government troops would be used against the abolitionists, another included in expenses for five settlers one hundred and fifty dollars for firearms and bayonets.

The war went on; but the census of 1860 showed that of the native Americans in Kansas, 10,997 had been born in that State, 27,440 had come from the South, and that 56,076 had come from the North. The contributions had been about the same from each section in proportion to its population, but the South's was the smaller.

Notwithstanding the physical impossibility of extending slavery territorially, the North saw an extension of its power in two particulars. The first exhibition, from the Northern standpoint, was had in the ironclad provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law amendment, making the national government the instrument for the return of runaways, and obliterating it practically from interstate comity, where it had been placed by the original law of New England origin. The Southern justification of the amendment was the flagrant abuses of that comity. The second victory for slavery was the Dred Scott decision. This was called by one "the Magna Charta of the South," though it declared void the compromise of 1820. upon the fact and theories of which the South had contended for years, and which had been void for at least six years. The North viewed it as Southern aggression. because it recalled the general estimation of slaves as

property held when the Constitution was framed, and because it set forth the doctrine that the word "territory" in the Constitution was applicable only to territory within the limits of the States when they were colonies, and not to that acquired afterward by the general government by purchase or conquest; and that Congress could exercise no power that was prohibited by the Constitution over the property of citizens of a Territory.

Aside from the affirmation of constitutional principles upon which the South based its belief of safety in the Union, the decision was an empty victory for that section. It may have been like oil poured upon water for those of the South who wished to remain in the Union; but for those abolitionists in whose minds the Constitution was as a feather, it was like pouring oil upon flames. "Since the decision of the Dred Scott case," wrote De Bow in 1857, "all the fires of Northern agitation have been fed anew, and blaze and burn in every hearth and every hall."

In the earlier phase of secession the expansion of the North had been resisted in the opposition to the tariff; and that issue was connected later with slavery, notwithstanding the views held in some Southern States, notably Louisiana, when illustrations of the dominance of the North were sought, or such an argument was made as that the claim of the necessity for a high tariff if wages were to be maintained meant that slave labor must pay the high wages of white labor.

The "free-trade and direct-tax" slogan was revived vigorously against the propositions of 1858 that resulted

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxii. 658.

in the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861; but the tariff had really become a subsidiary topic after the Act of 1846, one of the most equitable that had ever been enforced. John A. Calhoun asserted in 1856 that the Tariff Act of 1816 had clinched the concentration of commercial power at the North, and that since then the South's influence had diminished. Still, in the debate of 1789 the people of South Carolina were said to be willing to make sacrifices to encourage the manufacturing and maritime interests of sister States; and John C. Calhoun, following the favoring of "fair protection" by President Madison, was influential in the passage of the Act of 1816, because he believed that the policy of the country required "protection to our manufacturing establishments." There were more than twice as many votes for the Act from the North as from the South in the House of Representatives; but of sixteen senators from each section voting, but five from the South and two from the North were against it.1

Calhoun afterward changed his position, which was attributed to his New England education. But such reasoning hardly held good when New Englanders' attitude in 1816 was recalled; and it was just as logical as a statement—that might have been made—that Calhoun's stay at Yale was responsible for his theory of nullification.

Not a general tariff act became law after 1816 without the aid of Southern votes, the strongest opposition de-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edmund Ruffin of Virginia was said to have been the author of the first popular movement against a protective policy in the tariff, he having organized a petition against it which was presented to Congress in 1818.

veloping in 1824, 1828, and 1842; and New England contributed eighteen Northern votes in favor of the measure of 1857, extending the free list of the Walker tariff. Sentiment in the South was more united for freer trade; but nearly as many representatives from the North as from the South voted for the reduction, and a change of less than ten votes would have made the majority of the former section in favor of the bill.

Arguments against the tariff were of the past tense; those against abolition were of the present and the future tenses. The complaint of what the North had done through the tariff was not strong enough to lead to separation, especially as the South had helped to create commercial power in which it failed voluntarily to participate as a section. What the North was doing in spite of the South, and what it might be able to accomplish without regard to it, were the things to be feared according to those who lost no opportunity to preach disunion. The facts helped the growth of bitter antagonism.

Whether or not abolition attempted to circulate among slaves inflammatory documents likely to lead them to insurrection, sought to seduce them from their owners, carrying resistance to efforts at recovery to the point of unlawful violence, tried to arm the bondsmen with pikes purchased with the money of long-range philanthropy, or created a party infused with the determination to remove slavery from the United States, it was certainly fraught with danger to the section in which no abolition debate could be held.

For the respective sections the dangers of anti-slavery may have been as exaggerated as those of pro-slavery. But they had all the force of reality. The formation of a slave belt from Texas to Canada, had such a thing been possible, would have blocked the expansion of free labor, and accentuated the unrest in politics and the industrial world that had already begun to be manifested in the East, where foreign immigration swelled the voting population. The invasion of Mexico would have been a repetition of the troubles of 1844–1848. The reopening of the slave-trade would not only have placed the United States upon a backward career according to standards of modern civilization, but would have enabled slavery extension, both territorially and politically, to be accomplished.

Efforts to revive the slave-trade were an acknowledgment that the South had reached its limits for expansion; but that fact could not be perceived in the excitement attending the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law amendment with its anti-State-rights features, and the Dred Scott decision, among those whose cause was strengthened by any apparent intensifying of the skilfully manipulated antagonism of the Southern employing class and the Northern wage element.

But in the Southern propaganda, there was nothing involving danger to the homes, the property, or the lives of individuals in the North, unless in punishment of violations of national or local laws. The exclusion from Congress of petitions on the subject of slavery, carried to an extreme in the "gag-rule," were with some justice regarded as a limitation of a constitutional right; though such a right would never have been conceded, had it been thought that the liberty of one section could ever assume the form of license against the well-being and

the safety of another. Here, too, the feeling based upon the presumption that the utterances and acts of individuals or of representatives of a party were those of a united North, may have been at first exaggerated by imagination and rhetoric; but the trend of events made their possibility more palpable.

Just as there was error in the belief that the seeds of disunion were sown at the time when Congress first took action to suppress the slave-trade, instead of at the time of the compromises upon slavery in the Constitution, so minor elements were magnified into importance because of their tendency, and because of the wish to prevent the slightest infringement of the constitutional guaranty of slavery.

Southerners saw danger to their section in the possibility of the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in property owned by the government, the opening of diplomatic relations with Hayti and St. Domingo, the prohibition of the slave-trade between the States, of the doing away of three-fifths of the slaves in the basis of representation, the annexation of Canada, and of the granting of the suffrage to negroes. The last possibility was realized only in those States where the negro, unless he was a fugitive slave, was an inconsequential element.

The fear that the Federal government might be used as an engine of attack upon slavery, "thus threatening destruction to the civilization and social institutions of the South," grew when men began to think that the proslavery sentiment of the North was confined to Democratic office-seekers, individuals alarmed at the possible consequences to their business of disunion, and conservative Union men; and that the anti-slavery views were spreading to the villages and towns, influencing intelligent farmers, business men, the professions, and all elements of society.

Among the causes enumerated as affecting the South detrimentally were adverse legislation, throwing the burdens of government upon it in increasing expenditures for operations in sections from which slavery was excluded; the growth of the idea among the slaves of Northern superiority and sympathy, and of Southern inferiority and cowardice, rendering them disorderly and rebellious; the distrust of the negroes on the part of Southerners; the crowding of slaves into the cotton States, and the prevention of further importations to supply the deficiency elsewhere; the destruction of the equilibrium in the Senate; and the withdrawal of capital from the South and its increase in the North.

The last two were attributable to slavery rather than to abolition, but a real menace to slavery were the changes developing in some of the border States. In 1847 it was expected that natives of the North would gradually settle on the border, bringing means to purchase the worn-out fields, and the skill and industry to restore them to fertility, and that thereby land would be taken from the occupation of slaves. Four years later, the cry in the North for "free lands" was heralded as a purpose to colonize on the public lands in the South "free-soilers," to whom every facility was to be offered, that they might acquire a majority in each State, control its legislation, and push slavery nearer to the equator.

In opposition to Free-soilism an attempt was made to

revive the plan of ceding to the States the public lands within their borders, each State to pay into the United States treasury 75 per cent of the gross amount of the sales; but it failed, and the homestead agitation followed.

A comparison of the State censuses of Missouri for 1851 and 1856 showed that in twenty-five counties the number of slaves had decreased 4,411 in five years, and that in ninety-five counties the whites had increased 184,290, and slaves, 2,262, a marked disproportion existing in the counties bordering upon Iowa. This led to the question, "Is slavery declining in Missouri? and to the belief that in the Union the border States would be lost to slavery in a short time. Against this was set the statement within twelve months, that outside of St. Louis no man could be elected governor or a member of Congress unless he was for slavery. There was, nevertheless, reason for the question in 1857, where in the hour of necessity would Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and even Virginia, be found when the shock should come?

Another source of danger was seen, not without reason, in the conduct of the leaders, "circumscribed in usefulness" by the prospect of a mission to France, a cabinet position, or a presidential nomination, seduced by the wealth and patronage of the general government "to betray their constituents;" or, as one writer had it, "engaged in miserable schemes of personal selfishness and petty ambition, too sedulously and absorbingly, if not criminally, to the neglect of the nearest and dearest rights and interests of their countrymen." 1

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, x. 478; xvii. 2; xviii. 257.

Those who made such charges, however true they might be, against the average politician in general, obscured the fact that a man in accepting an appointive office did not necessarily relinquish a desire to further the wishes of his followers, but might, indeed, make it a better vantage-ground for Southern interests. And few Southern leaders at Washington between 1850 and 1860 could be accused with truth of not advocating the principles of the ruling class of their States, though some did not go as far as the extreme sectionalism of the "Southern Rights" preacher. The election of 1860 was readily construed to mean the exclusion of Southerners from governmental offices and the beginning of greater evils.

Jefferson Davis, at a dinner at Jackson in 1857, declaring that he was no alarmist, and that he had a contempt for panies, and a scorn for panie-makers, told his audience that in 1860 the monster crisis was to be met, and that American patriotism would pass through the ordeal of fire. He warned them to prepare for the worst. He characterized as a dark age in political history a period between the Revolution and 1857, when "patriotism was construed to be submission to degradation, and wrong for the sake of a Union whose soul was perishing." 1

That age had produced Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and Benton. The first three were dead when Davis spoke, and the fourth did not live to see the fulfilment of the Mississippian's warning. The prospect of a loss of influence in administrative affairs, and the consequent loss of power to check constitutional or arbitrary action, had

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxiii. 104.

behind it the fear of the admission of a sufficient number of new States to abolish slavery by a constitutional amendment.

For a people to realize that the power of their section had departed, that they were in a permanent minority in national affairs, "an inferior and degrading position," was galling, particularly when it was felt that the chief magistrate would be compelled to follow the will of the majority, who would insist upon legislation destroying slavery, extinguishing wealth estimated at \$2,000,000,000, and rendering valueless other property worth as much more. To this political and economic revolution, some argued, would be added the populating of the South by a no-property class from the North, a war of races, and complete subversion of social order, and the triumph of "agrarianism."

"Domestic quiet and repose," said the call for one of the conventions after the campaign of 1856, "are invited to give way to agrarianism, socialism, spiritualism, and all of the infinitely diversified isms which agitate and keep in continual turmoil what is called, by an abuse of terms, free society. Reforms there may be—improvements; time and experience develop these in the machinery of all societies. Should such at any time be necessary at the South, it is ours, and ours only, in assemblies and conventions to discuss and pronounce upon them, indignantly repelling the impotent interferences of our neighbors." <sup>1</sup>

The revolutionary utterances of Wendell Phillips, Anson Burlingame, and others; the calls to trample law under foot; the demands for an anti-slavery Con-

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxi. 550.

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It was no wonder that the proposition made in the North in 1857, that Congress should pay to each State \$250 for each slave emancipated, and \$25 to each freedman, was derided as placing too low a value upon slaves; and it was asserted that, if \$600 were paid for every slave, four-fifths of the tax necessary for emancipation with compensation would fall upon the South, and that from the start financial loss for that section would ensue.

Nor could a proud people, whose circumstances rendered them peculiarly sensitive to criticism, endure in patience the tenor of such an arraignment as that contained in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Its author may have intended to inveigh only against the Fugitive Slave Law and the complicity of Northerners in the maintenance of slavery; but in generalizing from special cases so as to lead some Southerners to acknowledge that there was some truth in the book, — though these were called

wrote that "it is not the recent invasion from Virginia which should awaken our strongest apprehension, but the teachings still vehemently persisted in, from which it sprung, with the inevitable necessity which evolves the effect from the cause. So, again, it is to be remembered that those who boldly approve and applaud the acts of treason and murder perpetrated within the limits of Virginia are not the most dangerous enemies of the Constitution and the Union. Subtle, crafty men, who, passing by duties and obligations, habitually appeal to sectional prejudices and passions by denouncing the institutions of the people of the South, and thus inflame the Northern mind to the pitch of resistance to the clear provisions of the fundamental law; who, under plausible pretexts addressed to those prejudices and passions, pass local laws designed to evade constitutional obligations, - are really and truly, whether they believe it or not, the men who are hurrying us upon simple destruction." ["Southside View of Slavery," 157; De Bow's Review, xxviii. 242, 243.]

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doubt that the valor of her sons will not permit a foreign flag to wave over her territory. . . . The flag that now floats over these forts will trail in the dust; but whose flag will it be? Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi and North Carolina and Tennessee and Kentucky and Florida and Louisiana and Arkansas each claims one of those stars, each has a common pride in that flag, each has her honor floating in its stripes, each feels a wound when that banner has been struck."

South Carolina contented itself at that time with asserting its right to secede, "without let, hindrance, or molestation from any power whatever," and "that for the sufficiency of the cause which may impel her to such separation she is responsible alone, under God, to the tribunal of public opinion among the nations of the earth." But the time set for secession by those who were startled by the eclipse of the Whig party in the vote for Frémont was when a President should be elected by abolition and sectional votes, the word "sectional" evidently being applied to all the country but the slave States. It was said that, "if Frémont had been elected, the consequences would have been so manifestly and highly dangerous to the rights and safety of the slaveholding States, that they would scarcely have waited to be completely shackled and powerless for defence, before they would have seceded or separated from the victorious and hostile States." 2

A prolific and well-informed writer in Washington,

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Life and Times of Memminger," 214; De Bow's Review, xxvi. 470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De Bow's Review, xxii. 590.

who adopted the uneuphonious but significant now de plume of "Python," shared the belief that Seward was the logical Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Urging the South to demand in that year of the Charleston convention the nomination of "a firm, tried, true, patriotic Southern man" for President and Vice-President, a man whose influence extended to the Pacific, he predicted the probability of 88 per cent of the people of the North rallying at the polls for Republicanism.

The belief that revolution would cripple the North. and almost ruin the South, led to the suggestion that Virginia should be the mediator between them. Mediation was to be the preventive of civil war. It was thought, on the one hand, that military preparations need not be extensive, as no power on earth could make war upon cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, and as cotton would hold England in check; but, on the other, it was hinted that the South might be subjugated, or that if it was successful its industries and slave property would still be insecure, and it would not have the ability to maintain a separate existence. The probability of the sons of the South being called upon soon to defend it made welcome the increase in the number of military schools; and the manufacture of arms in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia was urged. In a discussion in 1858 of modern tactics, the citizens of Virginia, which was expected to meet the first shock of warfare, were pictured as relying upon a broken reed, if they depended upon the arms at their command to repel a foreign foe. or to vindicate their rights.

If the stagnation resulting from a shortage in cotton

were not to prevent the government or the people of the North from making war, or attempting to march an army to coerce or conquer the seceding States, the latter would have an impregnable fortification, it was believed, in the common feeling of friendship, and the position of the slaveholding States in which the secession spirit had not yet gained the mastery.

R. C. Weightman, an admirer of Calhoun, whose doctrines, he thought, leavened the whole mass, and whose name was graven upon every part of the country, argued from Washington that a Southern confederacy must fail if it was set up. The States which most strenuously urged the importance of preserving the constitutional rights of the States, he said, were those that had a peculiarity—slavery—to protect. In a homogeneous slaveholding confederacy, "State Rights" would soon die out, there would be no State feeling or jealousy, vigilance would slumber, and the drift would be into a monarchy, more or less limited.

Against the cry sent forth from Washington, and sustained from that quarter, was raised the voice of at least a respectable minority of the South, believing that State encouragement of works of improvement would do more to aid the South than angry discussion and high-keyed resolutions; that the true policy was to offer inducements to foreign immigration, and, by changing the domestic and political economy, to regain political strength; and that too much haste had been shown in haughty denunciations of maligners and exasperating threats of resistance to unwarrantable aggressions.

One who felt that the South could do nothing but take bold steps to secure itself, if all the people could

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to reform popular error and make the people better, they should foster a good system of common-school education in which morality and the duties of citizens should be taught. Alexander H. Stephens, even after the signal for secession had been given by the election of Lincoln, told the Georgia legislature that it was no sufficient reason for such a step.

When secession occurred, it was upon the plan mapped out for it, with but few modifications. But nearly a generation was required to change the sentiment of 1832, developed from an earlier type, into the form of 1860. The first step, as a result of the nullification episode, the interest in internal improvements, and the incendiary conduct of abolitionists, was the endeavor to gain for the South a share of the general progress of the country, to develop its natural resources, to build up a commercial and industrial life, and thus to make it independent of the North.

Desire for such independence did not at first imply any threat of disunion, though that was the charge made; for some years elapsed before politics overwhelmed the practical purposes of promoters of the commercial spirit, and it was sought to prepare the South for independence outside the Union.

In the meantime the "Southern Rights" movement, that became prominent when the "Wilmot Proviso" was interjected into the struggle, was directed to trade and commerce as the means of retaliating upon the North. The South, it was urged, should organize a general proscription by ceasing to trade with the North; by refusing subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, or reviews, hostile to Southern institutions; by giving patronage only to

native professional men; and by abstaining from travel in the North; by encouraging home industries; by using corn instead of oats, and fodder instead of hay, for livestock; by excluding Northern vessels; and by placing a heavy license tax upon all but Southern traders.

As the violations of the Fugitive Slave Law continued, men were urged to reject all national candidates not identified with the Southern population, without interfering with party affiliations to make the Southern issue of first importance; to carry the war into Africa, as it were, by establishing a press at the North; and to repudiate or abandon the national parties and obsolete issues which had been "retained only to subserve the purposes of the partisan leaders."

Distinction among sections of the South and people of individual States made anything like a boycott impossible. Threats had only an exasperating effect upon the North. But politicians and the press continued their utterances on the line that there were rights more to be valued than theories and sentiments about union, and much more important because they involved every thing for which union was to be desired. To them were added acts accustoming the people to the idea of severing relations with the national government.

Delegates from nine States in convention at Nashville, in 1850, asserting the Southern position, were a model for the Montgomery Congress of 1861; but as yet the South was not united in speech or action. When South Carolina issued, in 1832, the ordinance of nullification, Virginia, in the guise of peacemaker, announced that it did not consider the doctrine of State rights in the resolutions of 1798 as sanctioning the act, and asked

that it be rescinded or suspended. Though the old Commonwealth had been, in 1847, something of an embryo nullifier itself, when its legislature announced that it would not recognize as binding any enactment of the Federal government, having for its object the prohibition of slavery in any territory south of the Missouri compromise line, it urged South Carolina in 1851 to desist from secession, as it was unwilling to take any steps in consequence of the compromises of 1850, "calculated to destroy the integrity of this Union."

Two political parties yet had their hold upon both sections, as the popular ballot of 1852 showed, though Scott had the votes of only four of the thirty-one States in the electoral college. But the sixty-six votes in the Whig Convention at Baltimore in that year against the slavery resolution, and the manifesto of the anti-Nebraska Democrats of 1854, indicated which way the wind was blowing. In the union of Whigs, independent Democrats, and Abolitionists in 1856, - that gave Frémont, the Republican candidate, 114 electoral votes in 11 Northern States: made Buchanan's minority popular vote in that section but 36,905 more than that of Pierce's in 1852; gave the electoral vote of but one State to Fillmore, the American candidate, indorsed by those Whigs, the majority of whom lived in the South, who still hoped for the Union, but could not vote for a Democrat; and took Maine and New Hampshire from the Democratic column to join Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York, that had been with them at times, - was born a party in which the South as a section had no part. The hope of safety in Democracy began to fade.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Life and Times of Memminger," 252.

The Demograph of Alabama had positively instructed to begenntes to Chemnation 1856, to withdraw from the laboral contention if it tailed to memberize in the offerm a bank recommend and approving the flataria energion of the Fainting place Law, and the producers contention about the Territories. leave after, soon the assembling of the South Carolina sent and are often the references on Seward of his Felicia in the coveries the conflict " and in exposition of this conflict at Harber's Form, tooyemor Gist said that the election of a Reconsideral President would settle the greetion of routa's arollina's safety in the Union, as the vital being to if the Constitution would be destroyed, while the formula rather seta need. He wirmed the State against s and the section to all the selected and date, and the ong to the county thomasters to support the miner; for and the continuation of mornings will bely upon a pastemuch save to in the foreign from cour storms, as green the Development and by wirk of their salvation. The se constant tell entire ( ) tenseeming the ordinance of 12.32, as to the miles to secretar an entricing \$100,000 tor mintage see the general and sending Memminger as committee to the limited, like It It. Starke sent by Management to take seemed with Virginia about the machemists of a convention?

Morrospole legislature had previously adopted the following resolution in Remircel, That the election of a President of the Linted States by roles of one section of the Union on the ground of an irreconcilable conflict between the two sections, in reference to their respective systems of labor, and with an allowed purpose of hostility to the institution of slavery as it prevails in the Southern States, and as recognized in the compact of union, would so threaten a destruction of the ends for which the But Virginia's assembly did not think it expedient to appoint delegates. It recognized an imperative necessity for decisive measures in regard to relations with the non-slaveholding States; but it did not yet distrust the capacity of the Southern States, "by a wise and firm exercise of their reserved powers, to protect the rights and liberties of the people, and to preserve the Federal Union." But it thought that effective co-operation could be had only by direct legislative action of the several States, rather than through the "agency of debating and advisory assemblies." 1

Amid the echoes of such proceedings, supplying campaign material for the opposition, the Democratic party met in Charleston. Had not the recognized principles of the minority been sufficient to defeat the party after the events following the canvass of 1856, the secession of delegates from Delaware and eight of the cotton States, and the subsequent schism at Baltimore, would have guaranteed the election of Lincoln.

The choice of a Republican, as had been foreshadowed for four years, led to the immediate execution of the plan contingent upon it. South Carolina seceded on Dec. 20, 1860. It stood alone outside the Union until Jan. 9, 1861. On that day South Carolina fired upon the Star of the West, sent with re-enforcements for Fort Sumter, and turned back the vessel. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana then seceded in rapid succession; and on Feb. 1 Texas passed its ordinance, to

Constitution was formed as to justify the slaveholding States in taking counsel together for their separate protection and safety." [De Bow's Review, xxviii. 492.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxviii. 613.

take effect one month later, upon ratification. When Buchanan left the presidential chair, seven of the States that had helped to place him there had formed a Confederacy. On April 12, the Confederacy, upon learning of an intention to resupply the fort, fired upon the flag over Sumter. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand men; and Virginia and North Carolina, that had held back, together with Arkansas and Tennessee, joined the Confederacy.

Several motives, aside from ambitions of individuals and indignation of the mass, joined in the rise of the Confederacy. Revealed most prominently by South Carolina, and confined probably to the cotton belt, secession assumed the form of the minority's undertaking to protest against the majority, if not to dictate to it. In 1831 Huger said that he was disposed to leave Carolina where it was, the equal, not the superior, of other States. Twenty years later Memminger asked, in discussing the opinion of other States about disunion, "Are we to suppose that they entertain so high sense of the wisdom of South Carolina, that her judgment will overrule their own ?" And Bishop William Capers of the Methodist Church, who had travelled in Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, discouraging the idea of secession by South Carolina alone, said, "It must be a putting of the other Southern States in fault, a sort of branding them as deficient in knowledge, or courage, or patriotism, or all these together. . . . We may not hold ourselves wiser or better than they are, but as equals only."1

Deference to the minority had been shown in the 1 "Life and Times of Memminger," 67, 213, 223. Constitution in the provisions for equal standing of each State in the Senate, adding to the basis of representation in the South three-fifths of the blacks, and prohibiting any amendment prior to 1808 affecting clauses one and four of section nine. The last provision was made upon motion of Rutledge of South Carolina, who said that he could never agree to give a power by which the articles relating to slavery could be altered by the States not interested in it and prejudiced against it. At that time South Carolina had rather to fear the middle colonies, particularly Virginia, than those in which the later abolition was born.

But the fear of the majority, distinctly revealed in the debates and actions of the constitutional convention. did not stop at the majority of States; for Dew, referring to the constitutional convention of Virginia of 1830, said that Eastern Virginia had objected to the white basis principle of suffrage on the ground that it would enable the western portion, where nature was a check upon slavery, to oppress the east through the medium of slave property; and he gave an emphatic negative to his own question, "If a convention of the whole State of Virginia were called, and in due form the right of slave property were abolished by the votes of Western Virginia alone, does any one think that Eastern Virginia would be bound to yield to the decree?" This was an enunciation of the theory, by no means uncommon, of vested property rights giving the minority the privilege of not only determining what was best for the State, but of preventing a majority from asserting itself.1

Dew's "Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831-1832," 67.

It was natural in men of English origin, strengthered in the outgrowth of custom by the fact of living in a section where representation in Congress was much beyond the strength of the white vote, and where 28 per cent of the popular vote in the country in twenty-foar years placed 41 per cent of members in the electoral college. Men who were likened to "little kings, with farms for kingdoms and slaves for subjects," and who were told, "Let us beware how we run tilt against hereditary monarchy, for we are hereditary monarchs ourselves," easily developed a strong sense of individual liberty against the mass for themselves that did not necessarily involve readiness to concede similar liberty to those who differed from them in opinion or circumstances.

A minority, though, have rights that the majority are morally bound to respect; but the reverse is equally true, and real democracy means that minorities must not rule majorities.

Secession did not mean that the whole South was willing to relinquish the advantages and principles of a government founded in the co-operation of both sections merely because a part of the South regarded the result of an election, toward which it had directly contributed, as a threat of the subversion of the Constitution, the destruction of the principle of confederation, and the establishment of the principle of consolidation.

The resemblances between the Confederate Constitution and the earlier one may have signified a desire to preserve its principles. But the substitution of the idea of delegation of powers for that of granting powers,

<sup>1</sup> De Bow's Review, xxviii. 149.

the prohibition of a protective tariff and bounties, and the limitation upon navigation acts, demonstrate that the original document did not satisfy the demands of secession; and the suppression of the word "slave" in the Constitution of 1787, showing deference to the sentiment certainly of a strong minority in the convention, particularly when viewed in connection with the debates, was in marked contrast with the treatment of the subject in the Constitution of 1861. The clauses dealing with the slave-trade, intimating a combination of threat and bribe from six States to others that were still in the Union, may not be considered as an expression of a purpose to preserve that Union.

The slaveholding States that were slow to join the Confederacy, or that failed to do so, cannot be accused of a deficiency of courage or of conviction. The best of them all, probably, Virginia, must have known that it had less to gain and more to lose materially by entering the Confederacy than any other State in the South. But such a consideration had little weight at the secret meeting of the convention of April, 1861. The call for troops to be employed against the farther South left Virginia the choice of joining in the coercive measures of the general government, or of offering itself as a sacrifice, even to dismemberment, for the States beyond it. The State no longer hesitated.

The votes of the early months of 1861 on the propositions to hold conventions, or to ratify ordinances of secession, where the people had voice in the matter, revealed the existence of opposition to disunion that did not subside even after the attack upon Sumter. But it was confined principally to the upper tier of States;

and the ties of union were weakened when secession took the form of protection of a State and a home from a war levied from without, and aided by disaffection within. That was a cause near to every man's heart, whether he was a slaveholder or the humblest yeoman. In its support all other considerations waned before him; and he was ready to undergo financial loss, personal hardships, and even death.

War was the worst fulfilment of prophecies of the ultimate effects of the elections of November, 1860. It massed all the motives into one,—the resolve to assert the right of a State, reserved by the Constitution or in spite of it, voluntarily to leave a Union into which it had voluntarily entered, involving the additional right of the State to be the sole judge of its action, its wisdom, its expediency, and its justice toward its whilom associates.

That was carrying into constitutional organization the natural and unquestionable right of an individual to part from those with whom he cannot agree, which implies, however, for the peace of society an avoidance of injury to others, unless in defence of home and family. That right had been expressed in one form or another, boldly or secretively, in the attitude of the clique styled "The Essex Junto," traced in origin to 1781; in the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania in 1794; in the resolutions of the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in 1798, the one claiming to nullify, and the other pronouncing as unconstitutional the aggressions of New England Federalism in the alien and sedition acts; the opposition in New England to the purchase of Louisiana, and to the acquisition of Texas; the scheme

of a New England Confederacy in 1808, that came to a head in the Hartford Convention of 1814; resistance to the embargo to the extent of nullification of its force act; refusal to comply with requisitions for militia for the common defence when the country was threatened by war; and in Georgia's Cherokee dispute in 1830.

The same spirit was manifested in South Carolina's attempted voiding of tariff legislation, and in the practical nullification of law and the Constitution relating to fugitive slaves by New England at home and abroad. The two chief parties to the bargain of 1787 could not abide by its provisions. South Carolina had its Calhoun; New England its Quincy.

There were resemblances in the assertion of the right to secede to the contention of 1776. But in actual conditions there was a difference. The thirteen colonies revolted against laws framed by a government in which they had no voice. A part of the South sought to withdraw from a Union whose laws it had helped to frame, but in which it had become a hopeless minority. Great Britain's deeds had been done in 1776. Those of the United States in which the South would have no voice were in 1860 yet to be accomplished.

Within thirty years the spirit of South Carolina changed from that of nullification with secession as a resort in case of attempted coercion, into secession without the preliminary and rather illogical veto of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A notable characteristic of New England nullification, wherein it differed from the South Carolina form, was that its spirit was generally manifested at times when the Republic was at war with foreign powers or threatened with war.

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generation at least stand in the way of their development.

But the way was opened for the South to assume an economic and industrial position which never could have been taken under the old régime.



### APPENDIX A.

Table 1. - Population by Races and Conditions, 1830-1860.

	117	NEG	ROES.	TOTAL.	
	WHITES.	Free.	Slave.		
South	3,660,758 6,876,620	166,550 153,049	2,005,475 3,568	5,832,783 7,033,237	
TOTAL	10,537,378	318,599	2,009,043	12,866,020	
South North	4,632,640 9,556,468 14,189,108	215,565 170,738 386,303	2,486,226 1,229 2,487,455	7,334,431 9,728,435 17,062,866	
1850. South North	6,222,418 13,330,696	238,187 196,262	3,204,051 262	9,664,656 13,527,220	
TOTAL	19,553,114	434,449	3,204,313	23,191,876	
South North	8,099,760 18,857,711	261,918 226,152	3,953,696 64	12,315,374 19,083,927	
TOTAL	26,957,471	488,070	3,953,760	31,399,301	

Table 2. - Foreign Born in the Population.

	ALIENS. 1830.	FOREIGN BORN. 1850.	FOREIGN BORN. 1860.
South	10,326	310,524	541,936
North	97,506	1,910,315	3,594,239
TOTAL	107,832	2,210,839	4,136,175

Table 3.

Reserve Recard States in Population and Its Demain.

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Table 4.

Migration from Virginia and Massachusetts.

	FREE		LIVI	NG IN.					
NATIVES OF-	POPULA-	United States.	Virginia	Mass	-				
1850. Virginia Massachusetts .	926,154 830,066	1,260,982 894,818	872,923 1,193		96 3,347 36 55,778				
	FREE	LIVING IN.							
NATIVES OF-	POPULA-	Pennsyl- vania.	Mary- land.	Ohio.	Missouri.				
1850. Virginia Massachusetts .	926,154 830,066	10,410 7,330	7,030 1,421	85,762 18,763	40,777				
100	FREE	LIVING IN.							
NATIVES OF-	POPULA-	United States.	Virginia	Mass					
1860. Virginia Massachusetts .	1,070,395 970,952	1,401,410 1,040,585	1,001,700	3					
	FREE	LIVING IN.							
NATIVES OF -	POPULA- TION,	Pennsyl- vania.	Mary- land.	Ohio.	Missouri.				
1860. Virginia Massachusetts .	1,070,395 970,952	11,026 7,777	7,560 1,032	75,870 16,313	53,957 2,702				

Table 3.

Relative Rank of States in Population and Its Density.

		RE	2000		RA		IN		POPUT TO SQUAR	AND ANEA.		
	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1860.	Increase since 1850.	LAND WATER	
Alabama			, .	19	15	12	12	13	18,45	3,68	52,250	
Arkansas				26	28	25	26	25	8.06	4.35	53,850	
Delaware	16	17	19	22	24	26	30	32	54.74	10.10	2,050	
District of Co-					13						1	
lumbia		19	22	25	25	28	33	35	1072.50	334.32	70	
Florida					26	27	31	31	2.39	.90	58,680	
Georgia	13	12	11	11	10	9	9	11	17.77	2.54	59,475	
Kentucky	14	9	7	6	6	6	8	9	28.60	4.29	40,400	
Louisiana			18	17	19	19	18	17	14.53	3.95	48,720	
Maryland	6	7	8	10	11	15	17	19	56.26	8.51	12,210	
Mississippi .		20	20	21	22	17	15	14	16.90	3.95	46,810	
Missouri			23	23	21	16	13	8	17.02	7.20	69,415	
N. Carolina .	3	4	4	4	5	7	10	12	18.99	2.36	52,250	
S. Carolina .	7	6	G	8	9	11	14	18	23.01	1.15	30,570	
Tennessee	17	15	10	9	7	5	5	10	26.39	2.55	42,050	
Texas							25	23	2.27	1.48	265,780	
Virginia	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	5	23.74	2.60	67,230	

Table 7.

Comparison of Popular and Electoral Votes.
(1836-1860.)

	SOUTHERN.	LERN.	NORTH	NORTHERN,
CANDIDATES.	POPULAR.	ELECTORAD,	POPULAR.	ELECTORAL,
1836.				
Martin Van Buren, N.Y Democratic	212,691	19	567,703	109
William Henry Harrison, Ohio, Whig	102,971	88	480,958	45
Hugh L. White, Tenn Whig	108,880	96		
Daniel Webster, Mass Whig			41,099	14
Willie P. Mangum, N.C Whig		п	. ,	
1840.				
William Henry Harrison, Ohio, Whig	550,136	.78	724,067	156
Martin Van Buren, N.Y Democratic	318,529	48	809,774	12
James G. Birney, N.Y Liberty	* *		7,059	
1844.				
James K. Polk, Tenn Democratic	418,187	19	910,826	103
Henry Clay, Ky Whig	388,796	47	902,847	28
James G. Birney, Mich Liberty			66,304	

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James Ruchanan, Pa.	J. C. Fremont, Cal.	Millard Fillmore, N N	INGO	Abraham Limoda, 111	Stephen A. Donglas, Ill	John C. Breckinridge, hy	John Bell, Tenn.	Toran	

## APPENDIX B.

Table 1. - Production of Southern Staples.

YEAR.	COTTON. BALES.	TOBACCO. POUNDS.	CANE-SUGAR. HOGSHEADS,	RICE. POUNDS.
1840,	1,859,350	209,961,276	154,100	80,841,342
1850,	2,444,779	184,991,706	237,133	215,313,497
1860.	5,196,938	370,645,923	301,922	187,140,173

Table 2.

Distribution of Large Plantations in 1850.

STATES.	COTTON PLANTATIONS, 5 bales at least.	RICE PLANTATIONS, 20,000 pounds at least.	TOBACCO PLANTATIONS, 3,000 pounds at least.	SUGAR PLANTERS.	HEMP PLANTERS.
Alabama	16,100		1000		
Arkansas	2,175	2 .	* *		
Florida	990	12.12		958	
Georgia	14,578	80		6.4	19.00
Kentucky	21	1 4	5,987		3,520
Louisiana	4,205			1,558,	
Maryland			1,726		3.2
Mississippi	15,110				
Missouri		4 .		4. 4.	4,807
North Carolina	2,827	25			4.4
South Carolina	11,522	446			
Tennessee	4,043		- 2,215		+ +
Texas	2,262			165	4.00
Virginia,	198		5,817		
TOTAL	74,031	551	15,745	2,681	8,327

### APPESDIX E.

Table 3.
Comparison of Products Commen to Buth Supremen

	Vide of . So eddad	' - PES. 'St = HELLS.	OATE. Berezia	India Potation Beginnia	<u>= -</u> *
ide de la companya de	41.15%.19%	51:44.781 12:197 (88	43.000.244 49.001.442	1.66.15 14.194.56	ب. <u>ت</u> : بند
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.250. Sortu.		West IM IBSSBBBB			
Total.	100,445,044	7.02.161.104	146,54,179	·5.757.395	
indo Politica Dominio	70.01 × 472 121.104, 49	925.025.346 75.423.44	33.254.063 139.740.725	11.399.796 (6.571.46	
2000	$171.18~\mathrm{sol}$	0.40 151.705	:72.574.45	110571.54	25.77.50

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## APPENDIX C.

Products of Industry, 1850-1860.

	ESTABLISH-	CAPITAL	Cost or	HANDS.	.sq.	COST OF	VALUE OF
	MENTS.	INVESTED.	MATERIAL.	Male.	Female.	LABOR.	PRODUCTS.
South North	28,087	\$ 94,595,734 438,649,617	\$ 85,778,990	142,045 577,434	21,858	\$ 32,392,812 204,362,652	\$ 32,392,812 \$ 165,581,935 204,362 853,524,681
TOTAL .	123,025	\$533,245,351	\$555,123,822	719,479	224,512	\$236,755,464	\$236,755,464 \$1,019,106,616
South North	31,365	\$167,855,315	\$167,095,962 864,509,130	166,546 873,803	23,086	\$ 51,606,773	\$ 51,606,773 \$ 291,375,413 327,272,193 1,594,486,263
TOTAL .	140,433	\$1,009,855,715 \$1,031,605,092		1,040,349	280,897	\$378,878,966	\$378,878,966 \$1,885,861,676

Table Z. Output of Cotton Factories, 1840-1860.

	NUMBER		BALES OF	VALUE OF	HA	HANDS.	VALUE OF
	FACTORIES.	CAPITAL.	Corrow.	RAW MATERIAL. <sup>1</sup>	Male.	Female.	PRODUCTS.
South	280	\$ 5,965,978 45,136,381	No data obtainable.	No data obtainable.	3,606	5,886 40,271	\$ 3,724,789
TOTAL .	1,240	\$51,102,359			25,962	46,157	\$46,350,453
South North	205	\$10,859,156	107,615	\$ 4,963,724	5,423	8,779	\$ 9,366,331
TOTAL .	1,074	\$74,500,931	641,240	\$34,835,056	33,150	59,186	\$61,869,184
South	181	\$12,407,421	139,153	\$ 7,271,262	5,842	8,389	\$ 11,360,173
TOTAL .	915	\$99,551,465	912,590	\$55,061,239	45,315	73,605	\$115,137,926

\* Estimate for 1840.

1 Including coal.

Output of Woollen Factories, 1840-1860.

	No. OF	- Armania D	Pourse or	VALUE OF	HANDS.	NDS.	VALUE OF
	TORIES.	Caritan	Wool.	MATERIAL.	Male.	Female.	PRODUCTS.
South North	153	\$ 519,780		* * *	720 11,444	241	\$ 672,578
TOTAL	1,420	\$15,765,124	* * * *		12,164	9,178	\$20,696,999
South	203	\$ 1,150,560 27,968,090	3,326,326 67,536,503	\$ 1,137,573 24,618,418	1,209	439	\$ 1,898,182
TOTAL	1,559	\$28,118,650	70,862,829	\$25,755,991	22,678	16,574	\$43,207,545
South	1,460	\$ 6,561,825	8,065,622	\$ 2,480,639	2,191	706	\$ 4,596,094 64,269,869
TOTAL	1,909	\$35,520,527	80,386,572	\$40,360,300	28,780	20,120	\$68,805,963

1 Including coal.

a The figures for 1860 include mixed goods; 967,000 pounds of cotton in the South, and 15,041,625 pounds in the rest 2 Estimated for 1840. of the country, being included in the raw material,

Table 7. -Continued.

CANDIDATES	SOUTHERN.	ERN.	NORTHERN.	IERN.
1000 1000 1000	POPULAR.	ELECTORAL.	POPULAR,	ELECTORAL,
1848.				
Zachary Taylor, La Whig	436,244	99	925,998	26
Lewis Cass, Mich Democratic	411,469	22	812,326	72
Martin Van Buren, N.Y Free Soil	303		291,075	
1852.				
Franklin Pierce, N.H Democratic	446,269	96	1,154,244	158
Winfield Scott, N.J Whig	366,714	24	1,019,430	18
John P. Hale, N.H Free Soil	440		155.709	
James Buchanan, Pa Democratic	611,880	112	1,191,149	62
J. C. Frémont, Cal Republican	1,194		1,340,970	114
Millard Fillmore, N.Y American	479,893	00	394,732	
Abraham Lincoln, Ill Republican	26,430		1,831,180	180
Stephen A. Douglas, Ill Democratic	163,525	6	1,202,451	00
John C. Breckinridge, Ky Democratic	570,871	67	277,082	
John Bell, Tenn Union	515,973	39	74,658	
Torars	6.131.305	847	40. 101 011	4 000

### APPENDIX B.

Table 1. - Production of Southern Staples.

YEAR.	COTTON. BALES.	Tobacco. Pounds.	CANE-SUGAR. HOGSHEADS,	RICE. POUNDS.
1840,	1,859,350	209,961,276	154,100	80,841,342
1850,	2,444,779	184,991,706	237,133	215,313,497
1860,	5,196,938	370,645,923	301,922	187,140,173

Table 2.

Distribution of Large Plantations in 1850.

STATES.	COTTON PLANTATIONS, 5 bales at least.	BICE PLANTATIONS, 20,000 pounds at least.	TOBACCO PLANTATIONS, 3,000 pounds at least.	SUGAR PLANTERS.	HEMP PLANTERS.
Alabama	16,100				
Arkansas	2,175				
Florida	990	2.4	* *	958	
Georgia	14,578	80			4 2
Kentucky	21		5,987		3,520
Louisiana	4,205			1,558.	
Maryland			1,726		
Mississippi	15,110				
Missouri	2.4			60	4,807
North Carolina	2,827	25			
South Carolina	11,522	446			
Tennessee	4,043		_ 2,215		
Texas	2,262			165	
Virginia	198	***	5,817		
TOTAL	74,031	551	15,745	2,681	8,327

Table 3.

Comparison of Products Common to Both Sections.

	Will AT. Всенице	Сокк. Вознык.	OATS. Bushels.	IRISE POTATOES. BUSHELS.	HAY TONS.
1840				, 3	
S0 10.	30,055,005	252,444,782	43,020,249	5.008,125	<b>F4</b> 0.116
North.	54,515,294	125.047.093	80.051,002	34,194,593	9.40] WE
Total.	84,873,272	377,531,875	120,071,041	39,202,718	10,248,166
1850.				1	
South.	27,919,796	349,057,501	40,849,107	7.737,954	1.140.877
North.	72,575,145	243,013.603	105,695,072	58,060,242	12.6800,681
Total,	100,455,944	5/2.071.104	146,544,179	65,797,896	13,831.55
1660.	1			Ī ·	
South,	50.018,472	435,028,803	33,254,063	11.999.793	1.500,734
North,	121,164,909	395,422,994	139,300,625	98,571,405	17,212,772
Total.	171,183,381	500,451,707	172,554,688	110,571,201	19,073,506

<sup>1 1540</sup> estimated.

## APPENDIX C

Table 1.

Products of Industry, 1850-1860,

ESTABLISH-	CAPITAL	COST OF	HA	HANDS.	COST OF	VALUE OF
MENTS.	INVESTED.	MATERIAL.	Male.	Female.	LABOR.	PRODUCTS.
28,087	\$ 94,595,734 438,649,617	\$ 85,778,990	142,045 577,434	21,858	\$ 32,392,812 204,362,652	\$ 32,392,812 \$ 165,581,935 204,362,652 863,524,681
123,025	\$533,245,351	\$555,123,822	719,479	224,512	\$236,755,464	\$236,755,464 \$1,019,106,616
31,365	\$167,855,315	\$167,095,962	166,546 873,803	23,086	\$ 51,606,773	\$ 51,606,773 <b>\$</b> 291,375,413 327,272,193 1,594,486,263
140,433	\$1,009,855,715	\$1,009,855,715 \$1,031,605,092	1,040,349	280,897	\$378,878,966	\$378,878,966 \$1,885,861,676

Table 2.
Output of Cotton Factories, 1840-1860.

O. 280 \$ 5,965,978 No data No data 3,606 5,886 5.0571 No. 3.05. 22,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 22,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 20,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 20,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 20,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 20,356 40,271 No. 3.05. 20,257 No. 3.05. 20,357 No. 3.05. 20,357 No. 3.05. 20,357 No. 3.05. 20,357 No. 3.05. 20,377 No. 3.05. 20		NUMBER		BALES OF	VALUE OF	HA	HANDS.	VALUE OF
0. 280 \$ 5,965,978 No data No data 3,606 5,886 40,271   0. 200 \$51,102,339		FACTORIES.	CAPITAL,	COTTON.	KAW MATERIAL,	Male.	Female.	PRODUCTS.
AL.         1,240         \$61,102,359         107,615         \$ 4,963,724         5,423         46,157         \$           0.         205         \$10,859,156         107,615         \$ 4,963,724         5,423         8,779         \$           1.         363         63,641,775         633,625         29,871,332         27,727         50,337         \$           1.         1,074         \$74,500,931         641,240         \$34,835,056         33,150         50,136         \$           0.         181         \$12,407,421         139,153         \$ 7,271,262         5,842         8,380         \$           1.         734         87,144,044         773,437         48,389,977         39,473         65,216         11           1.         915         809,551,465         912,590         \$55,661,239         45,315         73,605         \$1	South North	280	\$ 5,965,978	No data obtainable.	No data obtainable.	3,606	5,886 40,271	\$ 3,724,789
0.         205         -\$10,859,156         107,615         \$ 4,963,724         5,423         8,779         \$           1.         1,074         \$74,500,931         641,240         \$34,835,036         33,150         59,136         \$           0.         181         \$12,407,421         173,437         48,389,977         39,473         65,216         31,605         \$           10.         10.         10.         10.         10.         10.         855,601,239         45,315         73,605         81	TOTAL .	1,240	\$51,102,359			25,962	46,157	\$46,350,453
0. 181 \$12,407,421 139,153 \$ 77,271,202 5,842 8,389 7. 184 87,144,044 773,437 48,389,977 39,473 65,216 Ab. 915 890,551,465 912,590 \$55,661,239 45,315 73,605	South	205	\$10,859,156	107,615	\$ 4,963,724 29,871,332	5,423	8,779	\$ 9,866,331
0. 181 \$12,407,421 139,153 \$ 7,271,202 5,842 8,389	TOTAL .	1,074	\$74,500,931	641,240	\$34,835,056	33,150	59,136	\$61,869,184
. 915 \$89,551,465 912,790 \$55,061,239 45,315 73,605	South	181	\$12,407,421	139,153	\$ 7,271,262 48,389,977	5,842	8,389	\$ 11,360,173
	TOTAL .	915	899,551,465	912,590	\$55,661,239	45,315	73,605	\$115,137,926

Including coal.

2 Estimate for 1840.

Output of Woollen Factories, 1840-1860.

	No. or	· Atmosphil	Pounds of	VALUE OF	HA	HANDS.	VALUE OF
	TORIES.	CAPITAL	Wool.	MATERIAL,1	Male.	Female.	PRODUCTS.
South	1.267	\$ 519,780			720	241	\$ 672,578
TOTAL	1,420	\$15,765,124			12,164	9,178	\$20,696,999
South	203	.\$ 1,150,560 27,968,090	3,326,326 67,536,503	\$ 1,137,573 24,618,418	1,209	439	\$ 1,898,182
TOTAL	1,559	\$28,118,650	70,862,829	\$25,755,991	22,678	16,574	\$43,207,545
South North	1,460	\$ 6,561,825	8,065,622	\$ 2,480,639	2,191	706	\$ 4,596,094 64,269,869
TOTAL	1,909	\$35,520,527	80,386,572	\$40,360,300	28,780	20,120	\$68,865,963

<sup>2</sup> The figures for 1860 include mixed goods; 967,000 pounds of cotton in the South, and 15,041,625 pounds in the rest of the country, being included in the raw material.

# Table 4. Manufastura, 1850 1940.

	WINER!	WEST OFFICE A STREET
-		liv.
	Triam's	CHANGE OF CHANGE OF
_	1.88.0	hallsanich dieheeral
_	N. W.	THE STREET SECTION OF THE STREET
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	16,601,00	Tradistrate at the tradition of the trad
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۔ چ	., HS, a.	ministration strangers over the market and strains and otherwise

Table 5.
Other Products of Industry, 1840-1860.

	FURNITURE.	LEATHER.	LUMBER.	FISHERIUS.	GALLONS LIQUOR DIS- TILLED,	SALT. BUSHELS.
South	\$ 1,175,632 6,379,773	\$ 4,392,379	\$ 2,972,292	\$ 830,728 11,165,280	6,342,426 35,060,201	2,008,266 4,170,908
TOTAL	\$7,555,405	\$33,134,403	\$12,943,507	\$11,996,008	41,402,627	6,179,174
South	\$ 1,772,615	\$ 6,748,949	\$12,679,055 45,842,921	\$ 363,703	4,407,900	3,734,390
TOTAL	\$16,231,409	\$37,791,873	\$58,521,976	\$10,000,182	41,364,224	9,763,840
South North	\$ 1,179,814 21,521,490	\$ 6,942,050 56,148,701	\$24,900,947 71,011,339	\$ 516,176 13,768,229	7,244,414	2,246,178
TOTAL	\$22,701,304	\$63,090,751	\$95,912,286	\$14,284,405	88,002,988	12,190,953

1 Tucker's estimate for 1840.

Table 6. Maine and Maryland as Manufacturers, 1850.

			'a	DAM MATRIAL.	HAL.	HAN	HANDS.	MONTHL	MONTHLY WAUGO	VALUE OF
	270.00		Total	THE THEFT	-					PRODUCES.
	FAC-	FAC- CAPITAL. Bales of Tons of	Bales of	Tons of	Value. Male, Female Male, Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	
	TORIES.		Cotton.	Conf.		1	1	1	40.000	BO ROZ SMI
	-	-	1	1		780	9.959	\$29,35	812.10	0.959   \$29,35   \$12.15   529,90   Opt
Malan	12	\$3,326,000 31,531 2,921	31,531	126	21,573,11	1.008	2,014	5.42	9.48	9.48 2,120,504
Maine	16	2,236,000 23,325 2	23,325	212	1,100,001,1	-	1	-		
Maryman,		1								

APPENDIX D.

Table 1.

Conditions of Banks of Issue, 1850-1860.

	No.	CAPITAL.	LOANS.	SPECIE.	CIRCULATION. DEPOSITS.	DEPOSITS.
South	206	206 \$ 79,529,686 666 147,939,391	\$128,613,861 283,993,792	\$24,987,566	\$66,150,391	\$32,927,620
TOTAL	872	872 \$227,469,077	\$412,607,653	\$48,671,138	\$48,671,138 \$155,012,881	\$127,567,655
South	347	\$128,176,617	\$207,749,581	\$38,912,129	\$87,107,009	\$66,074,584
TOTAL	1,642	1,642 \$421,890,095	\$691,495,580	\$83,564,528	\$83,564,528 \$207,102,477	\$253,802,120

Table 2.

Comparison of Northern and Southern Commerce, 1835-1859.

	18	35.	18	40.
	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
The second second	8	8	8	8
United States.	149,895,742	121,693,577	107,141,519	132,085,946
Massachusetts,	19,800,373	10,043,790	16,513,858	10,186,261
New York	88,191,305	30,345,264	60,440,750	34,264,080
Pennsylvania .	12,389,937	3,739,275	8,469,882	6,820,145
Maryland	5,647,153	3,925,234	4,910,746	5,768,768
Virginia	691,255	6,064,063	545,085	4,778,220
So. Carolina .	1,891,805	11,338,016	2,058,870	10,036,769
Georgia	393,049	8,890,674	491,428	6,862,956
Alabama	525,955	7,574,692	574,651	12,854,690
Louisiana	17,519,814	36,270,823	10,673,690	34,236,936
	18	50.	18	59.
	Imports.	Exports.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
	\$	8	S	S
United States .	178,138,318	151,898,720	338,768,130	356,789,462
Massachusetts,				
Massachusetts,	30,374,684	10,681,763	43,184,500	18,150,818
New York	30,374,684 111,123,524	10,681,763 52,712,789	43,184,500 229,181,349	18,150,818 117,539,825
managed account a control of	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	TO STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PA		A 3 STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE P
New York	111,123,524	52,712,789	229,181,349	117,539,825
New York Pennsylvania .	111,123,524 12,066,154	52,712,789 4,501,606	229,181,349 14,520,331	117,539,825 5,375,226
New York Pennsylvania . Maryland	111,123,524 12,066,154 6,124,201	52,712,789 4,501,606 6,967,353	229,181,349 14,520,331 9,713,921	117,539,825 5,375,226 9,230,399
New York Pennsylvania . Maryland Virginia	111,123,524 12,066,154 6,124,201 426,599	52,712,789 4,501,606 6,967,353 3,415,646	229,181,349 14,520,331 9,713,921 1,116,193	117,539,825 5,375,226 9,230,399 6,722,162
New York Pennsylvania . Maryland Virginia So. Carolina	111,123,524 12,066,154 6,124,201 426,599 1,933,785	52,712,789 4,501,606 6,967,353 3,415,646 11,447,800	229,181,349 14,520,331 9,713,921 1,116,193 2,438,535	117,539,825 5,375,226 9,230,399 6,722,162 17,972,580

## PPENDIX E.

### Table 1.

Educational Facilities, 1840-1860.

	FREE	Cor	COLLEGES.	ACAD	ACADEMTES.	PUBLIC.	PUBLIC SCHOOLS.	LIBB	LIBRARIES.	WRITE IL-
	TION.	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No.	Volumes.	More than Twenty.
South .	4,848,205	86	7,106	1,567	56,985	8,049	200,516	No stat	No statistics ac- cessible.	345,887
TOTAL,	14,575,411	173	16,333	3,242	164,159	47,209	1,845,244			549,693
South .	6,460,605	120	12,165	2,527 3,505	106,583	18,532 62,459	583,892	722 14,893	752,794	514,338
TOTAL,	19,987,563	234	27,159	6,032	261,362	166,08	3,354,173	15,615	4,636,411	962,898
South .	8,361,678	263	26,823	3,189	155,522	27,868	1,028,790	5,514	3,177,708 10,138,671	542,573
TOTAL,	27,445,541	467	56,120	6,877	465,023	107,880	4,955,894	27,730	13,316,379	1,126,575

THE PARTY OF THE PROPERTY WITH THE PARTY WAS A PARTY OF THE PARTY OF T

	Beaton.	WANNEY AND THE PARTY OF THE PAR	The same of	100
		No.	100	
Smile	s w	68	-	1000
1,38670	207	THE PERSON NAMED IN	4	
Zonk	400	11	6	107
see South	紅盤	建	211	E SAIN
- Woods	100		-	CHIE
Toran.		-	200	2000
sto South	22	里	THE STATE OF	TOO TO
- Concession -	2000		1000	

Table 3. Character and then this in tunning in the character in 1986.

1			CHARACH	188			March alleli	I bestering	MANN
1000	Politic val.	Redi:	March arts	Missoli	HAIRS.	Workly	HE SEALS	WANTED TO	SAME.
South	1965	110	P. 1000	THE PARTY	1,174,477	P1, 414, 9100	164,9804 and, first	NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY O	THE MENT OF
CTEAL	11,943	438	MM	1111	PATRICIA IN	II TINGITING			

Table 4. - Illiteracy among White and Negro Adults, 1840-1860.

	WHITE	WHITE TWENTY YEARS AND MORE.		FREE NE	FREE NEGRO TWENTY YEARS AND MORE.	ARS	TOTAL
	Population.	Illiterates.	Per Cent.	Population.	Illiterates.	Per Cent,	CENT,
South	1,961,278	364,544	18.59	No	statistics in	census.	
TOTAL	6,440,164	579,316	8.97				
1850. South	2,767,637	058,045	19.50	115,231	61,031	52.96	20.87
North	6,654,000	471,189	7.08	104,289	33,594	32.30	7.46
TOTAL	9,421,637	1,012,019	10.74	219,520	94,625	43.11	11.48
1860. South	3,702,369	570,093	15.13	126,803	62,492	49.36	16.52
North	9,608,314	611,825	6.36	120,303	33,369	27.73	6.63
TOTAL	13,310,683	1,181,918	8.88	247,106	95,861	38.79	9.42

Table 5. - Illiteracy Among Native and Foreign Born Whites, 1850-1860.

	NATIVE WHITES 20 YEARS AND MORE.	S 20 YEARS AN	D MORE.	FORRIGN WHITES 20 YEARS AND MORE	S 20 YEARS A	ND MORE.
	Population.	Illiterates.	Per Cent.	Population.	Illiterates.	Per Cent
1850 South	2,577,644 5,499,698	519,984	20.17	1,154,302	20,846	10.97
TOTAL	8,077,342	808,024	10.00	1,344,295	203,995	15.17
1860   South	3,370,867	528,291 291,250	15,67	331,502 2,145,989	41,802	12.60
TOTAL	10,833,192	819,541	7.57	2,477,491	362,377	14.67

Table 6. - Growth of Primary Instruction, 1840-1860.

-		1840	10,	181	1850,	18(	1860.
NAME OF STATE.	SCHOOLS	018.	PUPILS.	Schools.	PUPILS.	SCHOOLS.	PUPILS
Kentucky	26	- 53	24,641	2,234	71,420	4,507	156,158
Louisiana	17	62	3,573	199	25,046	713	31,81
Maryland	256	12	16,982	206	33,254	932	36,210
North Carolina	99	32	14,937	2,657	104,095	5,994	105,09
South Carolina	20	25	12,520	724	17,838	757	20,710
Tennessee	96	83	25,090	2,067	103,651	2,965	138,80
Virginia	1,561	H	35,331	2,937	67,438	8,778	34.58
District of Columbia	.,	50	851	81	2,169	30	2,329
TOTAL	5.469	68	163,925	12,812	424.920	16.670	NAME AND

Table 7. - Pauperism and Crime, 1850-1860.

	PAUPER	PAUPERS DURING THE YEAR.	E YEAR.	CONVICT	CONVICTED DURING THE YEAR.	HE YEAR.
	Native.	Foreign.	Total.	Native.	Foreign.	Total.
South	16,411 50,023	4,849	21,260	1,983	960	23,736
TOTAL	66,434	68,538	134,972	12,922	13,757	26,679
South	19,959	5,222 156,230	25,181	3,797 29,136	3,601	7,398
TOTAL	160,213	161,452	321,665	32,933	65,903	98,836

Table 8. - Insanity and Idiocy, 1840-1860.

	18	1840.			181	1850.				18	1860.	
	INSANE &	INSANE & IDIOTIC.		INSANE.			IDIOTIC.		INSA	INSANE.	In	Intoric.
	White.	Negro.	White.	White. Free Negro.	Slave.	Slave, White.	Free Negro.	Slave.	Free.		Slave, Free.	Slave.
South	4,905	1,737	4,074	158	327	5,315	224	1,182	6,033	406	6,153	1,579
TOTAL .	14,508	2,926	14,972	311	327	14,257	348	1,182	1,182 23,593	406	17,286	1,579

APPENDIX F.

Table 1. -Owners of Slaves According to Number Owned, 1850-1860.

					1850.	į	!			1860.
STATES.	1	Сурев 5.	UNDER 10.	UNDER 20.	UNDFR 50.	Гуркв 100.	Гуркв 200.	MORK THAN 300.	AddRE-	AUGRE- UATE.
Alabama	5,204	1,737	6,572	5,057	3,521	187	975	<b>≆</b>	39,295	33,730
Arkansas	1,383	1,951	1,365	<b>Ž</b> -	Ž	300	51	21	5,948	1,149
Dist. of Columbia,	3.5	833	136	8:	71	7	•	•	1,477	1,118
Delaware	330	352	117	8	•	•	•	•	900	ZH7
Florida	669	106	159	N.Y.	25.	<b>t</b> ot	şi	-	3,520	8,152
Georgia	6,554	11,716	7,701	0;4;0	5,0,36	# <u></u>	147	æ	3x,456	# <del>*</del>
Kentucky	47,6	13,284	9,579	5,023	1.138	23	10	•	3M;M3	38,0±5
Louisiana	4.797	6,073	1.35.4	2,632	1:7:	<u> </u>	ž	ş	20,670	22,033
Maryland	17.X.4	5,331	3,327	1,x,	553	57	2	-	16,040	13,735
Mississippi	3,640	877.9	5,143	4,015	1967	016	380	177	33,116	30,943
Missouri	5,762	6,878	4.370	1,810	3.53	2	•	-	19,185	8 3 3
North Carolina .	1,304	9,668	8,13	Z.X.C	2. X.X.	<del>2</del>	2	15	28,303	34,638
South Carolina .	3,492	6,164	6,311	4,955	3,200	OCH	25	5	25,596	28,701
Теппеввее	7,616	10,582	8,314	£,8,4	2,902	278	22	æ	13,87	# · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Texas	1,935	2,640	1,585	1,121	37.4	2	G.	-	7,747	21,878
Virginia	11,385	15,550	13,030	9,456	988. <del>4</del>	919	101	<b>c.</b>	820,033	22,23 29,139
TOTAL	68,820	105,683	80,705	54,595	29,733	6,196	1.479	3	347,525	344,753

### APPENDIX F.

Table 2.
Fugitive and Freed Slaves, 1850-1860.

		FUGITIVE	SLAVES.	FREED	SLAVES.
		1850.	1860.	1850.	1860.
Alabama		29	36	16	101
Arkansas		21	28	1	41
Delaware		26	12	277	12
District of Columbia		4 .			8
Florida		18	11	22	17
Georgia		89	23	19	160
Kentucky	2	96	119	152	176
Louisiana		90	46	159	517
Maryland		279	115	493	1,017
Mississippi		41	68	6	182
Missouri		60	99	50	89
North Carolina		64	61	2	258
South Carolina	5	16	23	2	12
Tennessee		70	29	45	174
Texas		29	16	5	37
Virginia		83	117	218	277
TOTAL		1,011	803	1,467	3,078

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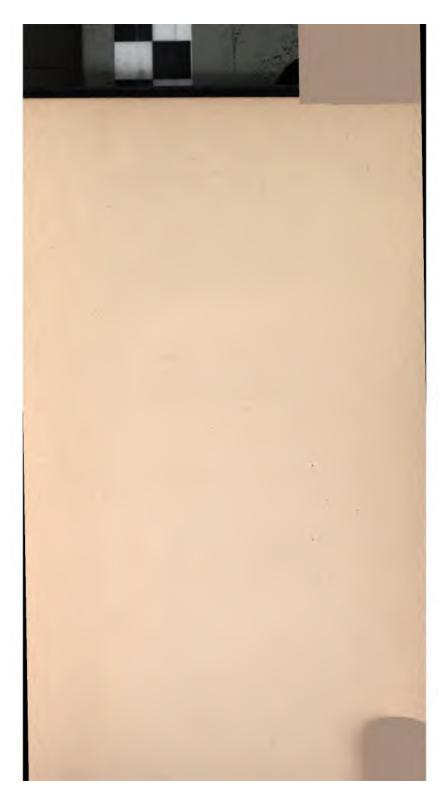
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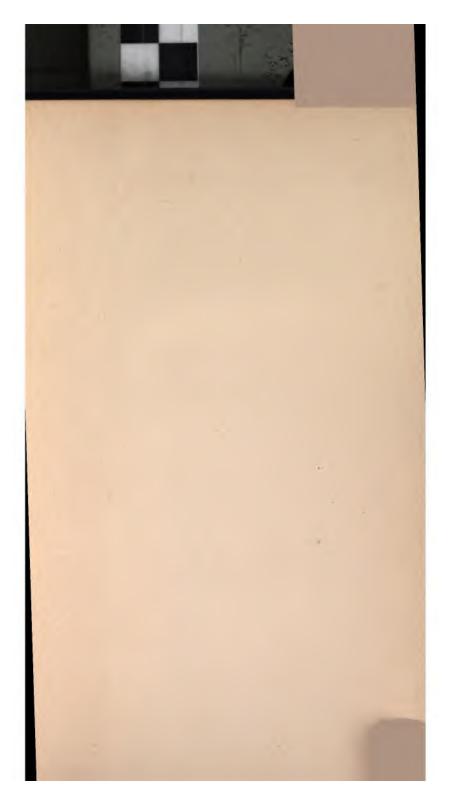
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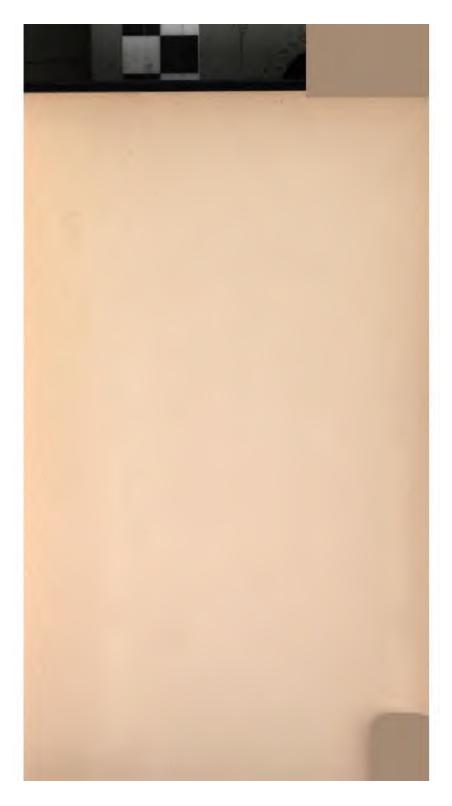
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